GAI SVETONI TRANQVILLI

DE VITA CAESARVM

LIBRI DVO

Edited, with an Introduction and Commentary,

BY

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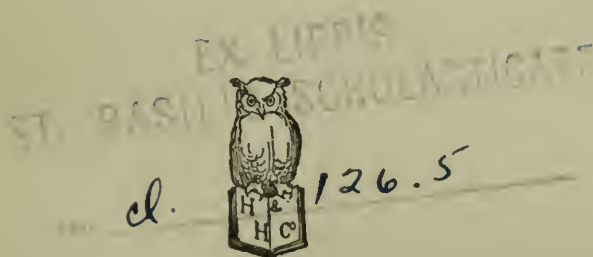
SECOND EDITION.

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PREFACE.

It is difficult to ascertain the reason why the Lives of Suetonius have been suffered to remain so long unedited by English-speaking scholars. No work of equal size that has come down to us from classical antiquity possesses a more real interest or a more enduring value. In the historical significance of the period they cover, in the light they throw upon so many points of Roman custom, and in the impartiality, thoroughness, and conscientious accuracy of their author, they have always been regarded as a most important source of information concerning the men and measures of the Early Empire. They are also a rich mine of personal anecdote, giving as they do innumerable glimpses of so many famous Romans divested, so to speak, of the stage properties with which we almost always find them decked in the pages of the professional historians.

It is, then, with the hope of gaining for the Roman Plutarch a wider circle of appreciative readers that the present volume is now given to the public. The first two books of the Lives have been selected, because they have to do with that period of transition which is perhaps the most remarkable era of Roman history, with its tremen-

dous moral, social, and political revolution; and also, because their subject is the personality of the two great Caesars, the founders of an Empire whose influence is still moulding the development of modern Europe, as its grandeur is still potent in the realm of imagination.

The text of the present edition is based upon the recension of C. L. Roth (Leipzig, Teubner, 1886). Some variations from his readings have been noted and defended in the Commentary. To obviate any reasonable objections to the writer's plainness of speech a few sentences have been relegated to the notes, but without any alteration in the original numbering of the sections. These textual omissions have been made with a sparing hand; for experience has only served to strengthen the conviction of the editor, that the application to a classic author of any extended system of expurgation is at once a moral blunder and a literary crime.

In the preparation of the notes the standard commentators have been carefully consulted, and all suggestions that are especially theirs will be found duly credited to the proper source. The edition of Baumgarten-Crusius with the supplementary notes of Hase (Paris, 1828) has, on the whole, been of the greatest use. Acknowledgments are due to Mr. Charles Knapp, a Fellow of this College, for valuable assistance in the preparation of the Index.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, *May*, 1889.

INTRODUCTION.

THE extant writings of Suetonius plainly show the influence of two well-defined literary motives upon a mind devoid entirely of the literary instinct. These motives are, first, the desire to succeed in the accurate delineation of character; and, second, a purpose to adopt the mode of literary treatment that has in later times received the name of realism.

It is, in fact, in the literature of the early Empire that one begins to feel and recognize in Roman thought a spirit and a tone that are, beyond all question, modern. Their manifestation is extremely subtle, yet it cannot be ignored. One feels it quite instinctively, without perhaps a definite understanding of just where it actually lies. It is not in the language. It is not in the theme. Apparently it is not in the purely literary treatment. Only after one has read and reread the pages that have affected him with so curious a sense of modernness is he ready to analyze with accuracy the impression that has been made upon him, and to discover just where the mind that lives behind the written page comes into sympathetic contact with his own.

And when he has succeeded in so analyzing his impression, he will perceive that the modern spirit springs from two important sources, the first of which is the development in the Roman of what may be called a sense of mental perspective that enables him to see each incident he records, in its true relations and proportions.

The development of this sense of perspective is, in fact, a feature of the history of all literature, as it is a very noticeable characteristic of the development of the individual. A writer in the primitive period of a literature, like a child in his early years, has much imagination, but the very slightest possible experience. He has unbounded faith, but no criterion of truth. He is original, but he is not reasonable. To his crude mind, cause and effect have no existence. He sees about him only what appears to be a bewildering multitude of wonderful events. He is in a perpetual state of astonishment or terror or admiration. As yet he has been able to accumulate no evidence that will permit him to trace the development of one phenomenon from another; to group them all under their respective classes; to reduce the seeming chaos into order; to marshal the great facts of human experience into the serried columns of philosophic induction. He does not reason, he only marvels. Hence all primitive literature is essentially inspired by impulse and imagination, is radiant with the prismatic hues of unbounded fancy, rich with poetic warmth of feeling, dashed with enthusiasm, and permeated by the purity and simplicity of unsuspecting childhood; but quite illogical, and alien to the great facts of eternal verity.

But the time comes when accumulated data begin to afford some basis for clearer thinking; to make it manifest that certain unvarying laws prevail; that great and small are only relative terms; that there is no such thing as isolation in nature or in humanity: and then the mental standpoint gradually changes. Enthusiasm is blasted. Imagination grows dull. The marvellous has ceased to exist; and as time advances, the inspiration of poetry gives way to the "sweet reasonableness" that is the very essence and soul of modern thought.

A concrete manifestation of this change of standpoint is to be found in the far greater importance that is at once assigned to the human, personal element in its rela-

tion to literature and history. It is this that forms the second point of contact between the literature of the Empire and that of our own times. According to the old view, man is only a pigmy, the creature and plaything of the gods, the butt of circumstances, with little control over his own or others' destiny, and only a helpless spectator of the mighty march of those events that crush him or exalt him as inexorable fate decides. But from the modern standpoint, humanity is the central figure of the universe. Its joys, its sufferings, its strength, its weaknesses, its wisdom, its follies, its struggles and its triumphs form the one theme whose interest can never fade. For man is the most godlike thing of which we have any personal, immediate knowledge. His intellect is a spark of the divine fire. He, and not blind fate, is the arbiter of his own destiny, the founder of empires, the real master of the world. And when once this new conception begins to mirror itself in a nation's literature, then we no longer see the old machinery of gods and daemons usurping the chief place, while man is drawn with careless indefiniteness; but it is rather the gods who perform a perfunctory part, while the analysis of human character and the investigation of the human element in the great drama of history, dominate and control the writer's genius.

The primitive conception of a proper literary treatment is perhaps best seen in the pages of Livy. Chronologically, of course, Livy belongs to the modern period of Roman literature; but in temperament, in thought, in spirit, he antedates his century as much as did Chatterton the age which for a time accepted his productions as those of the good priest, Thomas Rowley. His standpoint is that of the writers of the Libri Lintei; his treatment is that of an epic poet. He recognizes his own method as involving a literary anachronism. "Ceterum et mihi vetustas res scribenti nescio quo pacto antiquus fit animus, et quædam religio tenet, quæ illi prudentissimi viri publice suscipienda censuerint, ea pro dignis habere quæ in meos

annales referam." And so he draws vividly and with a certain picturesque power and warmth of coloring, the events of Roman history as seen from the antique point of view. He abounds in legends; his pages are sprinkled with interesting stories; he chronicles with grave fidelity the omens and portents that preceded or attended every important episode; we are informed concerning the cock and hen that were changed into a man and woman, of the speaking cow, of a lamb with a swine's head, of the boy with the head of an elephant, of an ass with three heads, and of all the other remarkable things whose existence he ascribed to the mysterious Numen which shapes the destinies of all mankind. But on the human side his history is undeniably weak. His heroes are perfect beings, his villains are unmodified monsters. The great mass of the personages that move before us in his pages are as shadowy and unreal as the shapes evoked to terrify Macbeth. He labels them as good or bad, and lets them go with no further ado about the matter; for having attached to each a few appropriate adjectives, he feels that he has given us a satisfactory analysis of character; so that Horatius Cocles, and Flaminius, and Scipio, and even Hannibal, have scarcely more individuality than pius Æneas and fortis Cloanthus and maximus Ilioneus, and that celebrated but very indefinite gentleman who has passed into proverbial literature as fidus Achates.

History thus written would not have satisfied the age of Tacitus and Suetonius. A change had come over the tone and spirit of society. There was no longer the old irrational enthusiasm, the old love of the magnificent and the marvellous. In fact, it was probably to Livy's power of feeling and expressing frankly an almost boyish admiration, in an age that had already grown *blasé*, that Asinius Pollio gave the scornful name of *Patavinitas*. To be enthusiastic had ceased to be regarded as "good form." There is instead, the modern urbanity, the modern spirit of toleration which is in reality the result of

a polite indifference; the modern lack of lofty motive, the modern reference of all things to conventional standards, even the modern skepticism whose expression would be cynical but for the equally modern accompaniment of good-humor and geniality. Finally, and most important, we perceive the increasing prominence of the purely personal element. The State itself, which had once been a lofty abstraction, greater than the interests of any individual, is now centred in the person of a single man. The will of one is the law of all; his favor is the source of everything that mortals long for; his displeasure is the greatest of misfortunes. Religion even lends itself to the glorification of humanity, by placing the possessor of imperial power among the traditional deities of Rome.

Literature, then, merely follows the prevailing fashion, and, like politics and like theology, becomes intensely personal. In Tacitus this tendency is kept within the bounds imposed by dignity and self-respect. It confines itself to the analysis of character, and the dissection of personal motives in their relation to human action. In Martial and Petronius and Juvenal and Suetonius we have a further step in the development of the same element of literary interest, perhaps we may say its degeneration into the trivial, the morbid, and, to a greater or less extent, the unclean. The devotion to what is human increases in a corrupt society until at last it encroaches upon those limits with which a decent self-respect has hedged about each individual. It becomes a craving for the intensely minute, an unclean desire for personal contact, a prurient curiosity that finally gives us in the name of "naturalism," productions as brutally and unconsciously void of shame as the confessions of Rousseau and the verbal photographs of Guy de Maupassant and Zola and, *longo intervallo*, Mr. George Moore.

Suetonius, as has been said before, writes in harmony with the literary fashions of the time. His defects are

due to the limitations imposed on him by nature. He wishes to depict character, but he has no gift at analysis; neither can he generalize, blend, seize a few salient points and throw them into such strong relief as to produce the desired impression upon the reader's mind. He can only accumulate with patient industry a vast number of details and set them before us in a mass, leaving us to arrange and weigh and discriminate and judge as best we may. He is a gatherer of facts; he is not a literary artist; and in the gathering of his facts he has followed the other fashion of his time—the tendency to realism. Nothing is too unpleasant, nothing too personal, to be left unrecorded. He pins a scandal and adds it to his collection as a naturalist would a butterfly; but at the same time he does not dwell upon these matters. There is no evidence that he took any especial pleasure in preserving them. He is simply following out with absolute faithfulness his own theory, which makes it necessary for him to omit no possible detail that can throw light upon the personality of his subject.

GAIUS SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS, whose birth is probably to be assigned to the year 75 A.D., is one of the most favorable representatives of the tendency that has been thus briefly touched upon. Our scanty knowledge of his career is gathered from the letters of the Younger Pliny,* from Spartianus, and from a few scattering allusions in his own books. From these sources we learn that he was of good birth and education; that after some wavering between politics and a literary career he chose

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* The passages of Pliny in which Suetonius is mentioned are 1. 18, where a case of S. is to be postponed because of an ominous dream; 1. 24, where S. is styled *contubernalis meus*, and also *scholasticus;* 3. 8; 5. 10, in which Pliny requests S. to publish his writings; 9. 34; and ad Trai. 94., in which S. is spoken of as *probissimus*, *honestissimus*, *eruditissimus vir*. The passages in which S. speaks of himself are Aug. § 7; Calig. § 19; Nero, § 57; Domit. § 12; and Gramm. § 4; Fragments, p. 275 (Roth).

the former; that by the influence of Pliny he was appointed tribune; that subsequently he turned his attention to the practice of law, in which he was successful; that he was finally made secretary to the emperor Hadrian, in which office he had uninterrupted access to the imperial library; that he was disgraced for alleged familiarity with the empress Sabina (Spart. Hadr. 11.); that after his retirement from the service of the court he devoted all his time to literature, so that he became famous for his erudition, his literary industry, and for the number of works on a great variety of subjects, which he published in uninterrupted succession; and that he died at an advanced age, probably about the year A.D. 160.

It has been maintained by scholars, notably by Roth as against Reifferscheid, that many of the works of Suetonius were written by him in Greek.* Even in the *Lives* one sees a marked fondness for Greek phrases and Greek derivatives. Moreover, at this period Greek was no longer the dialect of a single people, but had become a

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* "Suetonium libros non conscripsisse nisi Latina lingua omnes adhuc credidisse video; neque ego si aliter statuo, certo aliquo vel testimonio vel argumento utor. Sed mirum tamen videtur, quod aliquot librorum mentionem a Latinis nullam, contra satis frequentem a Graecis scriptoribus factam animadverto. Possit hoc aliquis ita explicare velle, ut insignia quaedam loca, sicut haud dubie in libris de vita Caesarum factum est, aut libellos etiam quosdam integros a Graecis sermonis Latini peritis conversos dicat. Verum talis opinio rei expediendae non videtur satis facere posse. Tanta enim est interdum allatorum a Suetonio e veteribus Graecorum scriptoribus multitudo vel versuum vel proverbiorum, tanta in explicandis Graecorum moribus ac vocabulorum originibus rimandis diligentia atque ubertas, ut quibus lectoribus nisi Graecis haec scripta arbitrere, quo sermone nisi Graeco composita dicas vix reperias. Perlegat mihi aliquis ea quae de ludis Graecorum oblectamentisque convivalibus, tum quae de conviciis et maledictis apud eosdem usitatis relata sunt, neque dubito quin mihi assensurus sit, cum illos libellos Graeco sermone scriptos fuisse iudico. Nec per se improbabile est, utroque sermone scripsisse hominem ab aetate Frontonis, Favorini, Marci Antonini haud ita longe remotum."—*Roth*, *Praefat.* p. lxxi.

cosmopolitan language, the *lingua franca* of the literary world, almost of civilization, occupying the place that was afterward held by Latin in the Middle Ages, and that French to-day possesses in the traditions of diplomacy. Even Cicero and other writers of the Republic had written in it, and it is extremely probable that Suetonius followed their example, as did other Westerns of his age,—Hadrian, Favorinus, Fronto, Apuleius, and Tertullian,—and as in Greek also the great rhetoricians delivered many of their lectures.*

The subjects on which Suetonius wrote have been preserved to us in part by Suidas (II. p. 1190 sq. Bernh.). They are as follows:

(1) **Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι παιδιῶν** (De Graecorum Lusibus), a work paraphrased by Tzetzes and quoted by Eustathius.

(2) **Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις θεωριῶν καὶ ἀγώνων** (De Romanorum Ludis), in three books. Of this an interesting fragment on the Troia Ludus (see Aug. § 43) is quoted by Tertullian, De Spect. § 5. Cf. also Gell. N. A. 9. 7. 3.

(3) **Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐνιαυτοῦ**, a chronological treatise.

(4) **Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις σημείων**, on the signs of abbreviation, etc., used in books.

(5) **Περὶ τῆς Κικέρωνος πολιτείας**, a defence of Cicero in reply to the criticism of Didymus the Alexandrian.

(6) **Περὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ ἰδέας ἐσθημάτων καὶ ὑποδημάτων, κ.τ.λ.**, on the different names of articles of dress, of which two passages have been preserved by Servius (ad Aen. 2. 683 and 7. 612) relating to the regal and priestly garments.

(7) **Περὶ δυσφήμων λέξεων ἤτοι βλασφημιῶν**, on the origin and early import of imprecations and words of abuse.

(8) **Περὶ Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ νομίμων καὶ ἠθῶν**, a condensed account of Roman customs, in two books, from which Isidorus (Orig. 18. 2, 3) has quoted a passage on the Triumph.

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* Teuffel, *Gesch. d. Röm. Lit.* § 340.

(9) **Στέμμα Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων,** chiefly of those distinguished in literature and oratory. Of this we have the lives of Terence, Horace, Pliny, Vergil (?), and an account of some of the grammarians and rhetoricians.

(10) **Συγγενικὸν Καισάρων,** the lives of the twelve Caesars in eight books, dedicated to C. Septicius Clarus.

Besides these works, Joannes Laurentius Lydus, in his treatise *De Magistratibus*, mentions:

(11) **Περὶ ἐπισήμων πορνῶν,** treating of those courtesans who were celebrated for their beauty or accomplishments.

The following are also quoted by different writers:

(12) De Vitiis Corporalibus, mentioned by Serv. ad. Aen. 7. 627.

(13) De Regibus, mentioned by Ausonius, Epist. 19.

(14) De Institutione Officiorum, on court etiquette, mentioned by Priscian.

(15) Pratum, a collection of miscellanies in ten books. Cf. Gell. N. A. praef. § 8.

(16) De Rebus Variis, mentioned by Charisius, II. p. 236.

Many of these titles are probably the sub-headings of his more important works, rather than separate treatises, as Reifferscheid (Quaestiones Suetonianae, ch. II. and III.) has partly proved. Thus the second and sixth are, very likely, divisions of the *Pratum*. The work on terms of abuse was almost certainly written in Greek. (Teuffel, 342, § 5). The fragments of the lost books may be found in Roth's edition of Suetonius, pp. 275–306, and in *Suet. Tranquilli praeter Caesarum Libros Reliquiae*, edited by A. Reifferscheid (Leipzig, Teubner, 1860). Reference may also be made to the dissertations *De C. Suetonii Vita et Scriptis*, J. Regent, Breslau, 1856; *Tacitus und Suetonius*, O. Clason, Breslau, 1870; and *De Suetonii Fontibus et Auctoritate*, F. C. L. Schweiger, Göttingen, 1830.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

THE style of Suetonius is marked by characteristics which render it unlike that of Livy on the one hand and that of Tacitus on the other. It has not the limpid, easy flow, the rich yet unstudied ornament, and the picturesque color of the Patavinian story-teller. It is equally devoid of the epigrammatic point and sparkle that make the sentences of Tacitus so wonderfully piquant.* There are no moral reflections, no crisp aphorisms, no dramatic climaxes of narrative, no bursts of declamatory eloquence, no verbal pictures set in a frame of rhetorical richness. Suetonius is terse, and in that respect he resembles Tacitus; he is deeply interesting, and there he shows some likeness to Livy; but his style is one of his own creation. His chief desire is to present the facts stripped of any comment whatsoever, grouped in such a way as to produce their own effect without the adventitious aid of rhetoric; and then to leave the reader to his own conclusions. The narrative of Suetonius is, as some one has said, not so much a narrative as a *procès-verbal;* yet it is neither colorless nor dull. The impressiveness of the facts that he sets forth is itself sufficient to detain and interest the reader; and at times the clear, succinct marshalling of the incidents, the terse record of events, are pregnant with a power that becomes almost dramatic from its very simplicity and soberness. Thus the whole passage which tells of the death of Caesar, and, perhaps to a still greater extent, that in which Nero's end is pictured, are wonderful examples of the quiet strength that is so self-contained and yet so undeniably effective; and we can readily believe the story

* Except here and there a striking phrase. Thus the sentence used of Tiberius—*mori volentibus vis adhibita vivendi*—is worthy of Tacitus himself.

related by Lampridius of the tyrant Commodus, who, after reading the life of Caligula, angrily ordered the book to be thrown to the wild beasts.

Yet Suetonius is not so free from the literary influence of his age as to show no traces whatsoever of the rhetorician: only, his rhetoric is what we may venture to call purely verbal. It does not seek to make a particular impression on the reader's mind; it merely unconsciously influences the phraseology of the writer. It imparts a faint tinge, which in any given passage is scarcely perceptible, and which we most readily discover in looking at the narrative as a whole. Certain tricks of expression, certain favorite usages of language, certain iterated phrases, make up the bulk of those peculiarities which give the necessary individuality to the style. These distinctive marks we may, with necessary brevity, here summarize as follows:

1. An unusual number of **technical expressions**, by reason of which, as Mr. Simcox says, the work requires "a commentary in the same way as a racy Anglo-Indian novel." It must be remembered as an explanation of this fact, that Suetonius was himself an official, and that hence, expressions which are foreign to the ordinary language of literature, flow naturally from his pen. Such are: *Cornelium Dolabellam . . . repetundarum postulavit*, Iul. § 4; *qui perduellionis diem diceret*, Iul. § 12; *publicatis bonis*, Iul. § 14; *ad disquisitionem populi vocavit*, Iul. § 15; *Pompeium adsectatus est*, Iul. § 19; *praetoribus de superioris anni actis referentibus, cognitionem senatui detulit*, Iul. § 23; *quaestor eius in praeiudicium aliquot criminibus arreptus est*, Iul. § 23; *ne absentis ratio comitiis haberetur*, Iul. § 28; *cum M. Cato . . . denuntiaret delaturum se nomen eius*, Iul. § 30; *sessum in quattuordecim* (sc. ordinibus), Iul. § 39; *senatum supplevit, patricios adlegit*, Iul. § 41; *pronuntiarentur = crearentur*, Iul. § 41; *recensum populi vicatim egit*, Iul. § 41; *instituit . . . ex iis qui recensi non essent subsortitio a praetore fieret*, Iul. § 41; *repetundarum convictos etiam ordine senatorio movit*, Iul.

§ 42; *promercale divenderet*, Iul. § 54; *e viatico suo optulerunt*, Iul. § 68; *inter officia prosequentium*, Iul. § 71; *quibus ex commendatione Pompei ordines dederat*, Iul. § 75; *tensam et ferculum*, Iul. § 76; *cum animadverti iussisset* (sc. consulem adesse), Iul. § 81; *litare*, Iul. § 81; *in ima cera*, Iul. § 83; *C. Octavium ex dodrante, . . . et Q. Pedium ex quadrante reliquo* (*heredes*), Iul. § 83; *nominavit . . . in secundis heredibus*, Iul. § 83; *exta prosecuit*, Aug. § 1; *divisores operasque campestres*, Aug. § 3; *reus caedis deferre statuit*, Aug. § 10; *translaticium ius*, Aug. § 10; *missionem poscentium*, Aug. § 17; *mulieris servi nomenculatoris*, Aug. § 19; *praesidibus propagavit imperium*, Aug. § 23; *citra commoda exauctoravit*, Aug. § 24; *servos viris . . . pecuniosioribus indictos*, Aug. § 25; *suffecto alio*, Aug. § 26; *collegam cooptavit*, Aug. § 27; *rationarium*, Aug. § 28; *cum aliam* (virginem vestalem) *capi oporteret*, Aug. § 31; *ergastula recognovit*, Aug. § 32; *ducenariorum*, id.; *qui postulabatur iniuriarum*, Aug. § 56; *intercapedo*, Vesp. § 10.

2. Equally noticeable, and equally indicative of the social sphere in which our author moved, is his constant **use of words borrowed from the Greek**. The following **nouns** in the first two books that form the present volume are to be noticed: *acroama*, Aug. § 74; *amphitheatrum*, Aug. §§ 29, 43; *aretalogus*, Aug. § 74; *asparagus*, Aug. § 87; *aspis*, Aug. § 17; *athleta*, Iul. § 39 (bis); Aug. §§ 43, 44, 45; *aura*, Aug. § 97; *basilica*, Iul. § 10; Aug. §§ 29, 100; *basis*, Aug. § 31; *bibliotheca*, Iul. § 44; Aug. § 29; *carcinoma*, Aug. § 65; *chirographum*, Iul. § 17; Aug. §§ 64, 87; *choragus*, Aug. § 70 (quotation); *cilicium*, Aug. § 75; *cinaedus*, Aug. § 68 (quotation); *cincinnus*, Aug. § 86 (quotation); *collybus*, Aug. § 4 (quotation); *comoedia*, Aug. § 89; *conchyliata*, Iul. § 43; *culleus*, Aug. § 33; *diadema*, Iul. § 79; *dialogus*, Aug. § 89; *distichon*, Iul. § 51; *ephebus*, Aug. § 98; *epigramma*, Iul. § 73; Aug. §§ 70, 85; *euripus*, Iul. § 39; *grammaticus*, Aug. § 88; *graphium*, Iul. § 82; *gyrus*, Iul. § 39; *heros*, Aug. § 72; *hexameter*, Aug.

§ 85; *mathematicus*, Aug. § 94; *Mausoleum*, Aug. §§ 100, 101; *mimus*, Aug. §§ 53, 99; *moechus*, Iul. § 51 (quotation); *naumachia*, Iul. §§ 39, 44; *orchestra*, Iul. §§ 39, 76; Aug. §§ 35, 44; *orthographia*, Aug. § 88; *paedagogus*, Aug. § 67; *pantomimus*, Aug. § 45; *peristylum*, Aug. § 82; *phalerae*, Aug. § 25; *phonascus*, Aug. § 84; *pompa*, Iul. §§ 37, 76; Aug. § 16; *psylli*, Aug. § 17; *pyrricha*, Iul. § 39; *rhinoceros*, Aug. § 43; *sphinx*, Aug. § 50; *spongea*, Aug. §§ 75, 85; *stigma*, Iul. § 73; *stomachus*, Aug. § 76; *syllaba*, Aug. § 88; *syngrapha*, Iul. § 23; *theatrum*, Aug. §§ 29 (bis), 44, 56; *thema*, Aug. § 94; *thorax*, Aug. § 82; *thronus*, Aug. § 70 (quotation); *thyrsus*, Aug. § 77; *tigris*, Aug. § 43; *toreuma*, Iul. § 47; *triclinium*, Iul. §§ 43, 48; Aug. §§ 69, 98; *tropaeum*, Iul. §§ 11, 84; *xystici*, Aug. § 45; *xystus*, Aug. § 72.——And the following **adjectives**: *autographus*, Aug. §§ 71, 87; *barbarus*, Aug. § 94; *cacozelus*, Aug. § 86; *gymnicus*, Aug. §§ 52, 98; *poeticus*, Aug. § 85; *thalamegus*, Iul. § 52.——And the following **verbs**; *lachanizare*, Aug. § 87; *tympanizare*, Aug. § 68; *coaxare* (fr. **κοάξ**) Aug. § 94.——Also *geronticos*, Aug. § 71; *technophyon*, Aug. § 72, and *myrobrechis*, Aug. § 86, which, as Thimm suggests, should probably be written in Greek characters.

3. Unusual words, and words often apparently coined by Suetonius himself. The following are found first in the *Lives*; *abloco*, Vitell. § 7; *absorptio*, (?) Nero, § 27; *adaquo*, as a passive, Galb. § 7; *addormisco*, Claud. § 8; *angusticlavius* (adj.), Oth. § 10; *artius*, Claud. § 4; *baceolus*, Aug. § 87; *betizo*, Aug. § 87; *buccea*, Aug. § 76; *coccinatus*, (?) Dom. § 4; *cycladatus*, Calig. § 52; *domesticatim*, Iul. § 26; *excogitatus*, Calig. § 22; *grassatura*, Aug. § 32, Tib. § 37; *icuncula*, Nero, § 56; *imaguncula*, Aug. § 7; *legator*, Tib. § 31; *lucubratorius*, Aug. § 78; *machinosus*, Nero, § 34; *modicellus* (?), Nero, § 48; *obhaereo*, Tib. § 2; *praecupidus*, Aug. § 70; *provinciatim*, Aug. § 49; *pulleiaceus*, Aug. § 87; *refector*, Vesp. § 18; *regaliolus*, Iul. § 81; *resalutatio*, Nero, § 37; *resuo*, Aug. § 94; *retaxo*, Vesp.

§ 13; *rudiarius*, Tib, § 7; *sagulatus*, Vitell. § 11; *sericatus*, Calig. § 52; *solutilis*, Nero, § 34; *subdebilis*, Vitellius, § 17; *subsultim*, Aug. § 83; *sufflavus*, Aug. § 79; *superiumentarius*, Claud. § 2; *talitrum*, Tib. § 68; *tofinus*, Claud. § 21; *togatarius*, Aug. § 45; *vacerrosus*, Aug. § 87; *verbenatus*, Calig. § 27; *veteramentarius*, Vitell. § 2. [Many rare words are noticed in the Commentary.]

4. Peculiar fondness for **adverbs** (some of them unusual) in — **im**. The following is a list of those that are found in the first two books: *circulatim*, Iul. § 84; *confestim*, Iul. §§ 31, 70, 84; Aug. § 10; *dispersim*, Iul. § 80; *domesticatim*, Iul. § 26; *municipatim*, Iul. § 14; *nominatim*, Iul. § 26; Aug. § 53; *olim*, Iul. §§ 11, 13; Aug. §§ 1, 16, 27, 30, 44, 52, 54, 74, 89; *oppidatim*, Aug. § 59; *partim*, Iul. § 29 (bis); Aug. §§ 21, 34 (bis), 42, 49 (bis), 101 (bis); *pessim*, Iul. § 67; *paullatim*, Aug. § 31; *privatim*, Iul. § 26; Aug. § 88; *provinciatim*, Aug. § 49; *raptim*, Aug. § 79; *regionatim*, Iul. § 39; *separatim*, Iul. § 10; Aug. §§ 29, 44; *singillatim*, Aug. §§ 9, 57; *statim*, Iul. §§ 15, 23, 43, 60, 71, 85; Aug. §§ 27, 28, 36, 39, 51, 53, 62, 66, 82, 87, 94 (bis); *subsultim*, Aug. § 83; *summatim*, Iul. § 44; Aug. § 85; *summissim*, Aug. § 74; *ubertim*, Iul. § 81; *vicatim*, Iul. § 41; Aug. §§ 40, 43, 57; *viritim*, Iul. §§ 26, 32, 38, 83; Aug. § 41.

5. Frequent use of **alliteration**, especially in formulaic expressions, and oftenest in the repetition of the letter **p**: *male mulcatum*, Iul. § 17; *privato parabatur*, Iul. § 18; *pecunia polleret*, Iul. § 19; *rationem reddere*, Iul. § 30 and Aug. § 39; *plane palam*, Iul. § 27; *circa corporis curam*, Iul. § 45; *per praeconem pronuntiavit*, Iul. § 84; *pertinaciae paenitentiam postea T. Vinium Philopoemenem quod patronum suum proscriptum*, etc., Aug. § 27; *collegam cooptavit*, id. ib.; *praesidibus provinciarum propagavit imperium*, Aug. § 22; *par periculum poenae*, Aug. § 32; *pleraque pessimi exempli in perniciem publicam*, id. ib.; *captis castris*, Aug. § 91; *maxime movit*, Iul. § 78; *parum prospere*, Iul. § 79; *potestate privavit*, id. ib.; *laudationis*

loco, Iul. § 84; *pace parta*, Aug. § 22; *curiose cavisset*, Aug. § 40; *similem se semper sui*, Tib. § 67.

Somewhat similar are instances of **homoeoteleuton**, some of them rather harsh: *quisque monimentis vel novis vel refectis et excultis*, Aug. § 29; *diuturnorum reorum et ex quorum*, etc., Aug. § 32; *plurium quam quisquam umquam dierum*, Iul. § 24.

6. Construction according to sense (synesis).

Examples are: *magna pars rutila barba fuerunt*, Nero, § 1; *ut discurrentes pars, . . . clamitarent*, Tib. § 75; *pars iurarunt*, Vitell. § 15; *quidquid fatidicorum librorum . . . nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus ferebatur, supra duo milia . . . cremavit*, Aug. § 31; *quidquid praetorianarum cohortium fuit, ut pessimi exempli, uno exauctoravit edicto iussas tribunis tradere arma*, Vitell. § 10; *ditissimus quisque . . . comparabant*, Calig. § 22; *damnati omnes alius alio casu periit*, Iul. § 89; *Tunc Caesar, "Eatur" inquit "quo deorum ostenta et inimicorum iniquitas vocat,"* Iul. § 32. Some of these instances may properly be called **anacoluthon**, as are the following: *Iterum censente ut . . . pecuniam transferre concederetur, obtinere non potuit*, etc., Tib. § 31; *Gaium et Lucium . . . amisit ambos, Gaio in Lycia, Lucio Massiliae defunctis*, Aug. § 65. Cf. Zumpt, § 64. 1.

7. A very sparing use of purely **Rhetorical Figures.**

(*a*) **Litotes** and **Meiosis.** The expressions *non sine* and *nec sine* occur with great frequency. Cf. Iul. §§ 2, 4, 13, 20 (bis), 30, 55; Aug. §§ 13, 14, 21, 28, 74, 94. See also *non minore acerbitate*, Iul. § 73; *nec minore studio*, Iul. § 28; *non inmerito*, Iul. § 55; *nec dissimularet*, Iul. § 10; *parum prospere*, Iul. § 79; *parum diligenter*, Iul. § 56; *parum integra*, id. ib.; *parum modeste*, Aug. § 64; *male quietas*, Aug. § 21.

(*b*) **Metonymy.** Abstract for concrete: *mancipia = servos*, Iul. § 26; *servitia = servos*, Iul. § 47, and Nero, § 22; *officia = eos qui officii causa prosequebantur*, i.e., *apparitores*, Iul. § 71; *matrimoniis = uxoribus*, Iul. § 51 and

cf. Aug. § 34; *iuvenis* = *iuvenum*, Iul. § 27 and Aug. § 43; *clientelas* = *clientis*, Tib. § 2.——Individual for the class: *libertino milite bis usus est*, Aug. § 25; *postulante equite* = *postulante ordine equestri*, Aug. § 34; *militem secrevit a populo*, Aug. § 44.——Material for thing made: *in ima cera*, Iul. § 83; *primae duae cerae*, Nero, § 17; *amicitias et familiaritates . . . afflixit*, Tib. § 51.

(*c*) **Periphrasis.** *quosdam e semibarbaris Gallorum*, Iul. § 76; *tabularum picturas*, Aug. § 75; *rerum missilia*, Aug. § 98; *inter angustias vicorum*, Aug. § 45; Nero, § 38. And to this we may refer the use of the adj. for the genitive. See 11.

(*d*) **Metaphor** (rare): *multiplici flagravit invidia*, Aug. § 27; *captum repente oculis*, Aug. § 53; *rectorem opponere mente lapsis*, Aug. § 48; *mercedibus recisis*, Tib. § 34; *pretia in immensum exarsisse conquestus*, id. ib.

(*e*) **Pleonasm.** See infra, 9.

(*f*) **Synecdoche** (rare): *cum strato simul*, = *cum lecto*, Aug. § 6.

(*g*) **Apophasis.** A sustained use of this figure is to be observed in Iul. § 49 (transferred to the notes): *Omitto . . . . notissimos versus . . . . praetereo actiones . . . . missa enim facio edicta*, etc.

8. **Brevity** secured (*a*) by the frequent and often clumsy **use of the participle** to avoid the employment of relative clauses or clauses of purpose: *retinentes creditores removit*, Iul. § 18; *domum refugit pro condicione temporum quieturus*, id. § 16. See infra, 14.

(*b*) by **pregnant expressions** like the following: *de oratoribus coronatus* = *cum vicisset de orat.*, Domit. § 13; *Pompei felicitatem cui praecipua militaria laus de tam imbelli genere hostium contigisset*, Iul. § 35; *tropaea Gai Mari de Jugurtha restituit*, Iul. § 11; *coniurati e vinculis triplicium catenarum dixere causam*, Nero, § 36.

(*c*) by the free use of the **ablative absolute**, sometimes making an awkward combination of ablatives, and with the subject sometimes omitted: *Dolabellam repetundarum*

postulavit, absolutoque Rhodum secedere statuit, Iul. § 4 cf. Otho, § 8; Claud. § 15; *modo pace facta flagitante po-pulo,* etc., Aug. § 16; *freto classe traiecto,* Tib. § 2.

(*d*) by the free use of the **objective genitive**: *aleae ru-morem,* Aug. § 71; *dies virilis togae,* id. § 66; Calig. § 15; *peregrinatio Graeciae,* Nero, § 34.

(*e*) by the **omission of the verb** 'esse': *circa religiones talem accepimus,* sc. eum fuisse, Aug. § 90; *etiam cultu notabilem ferunt,* Iul. § 45; *vini parcissimum ne inimici quidem negaverunt,* Iul. § 53, and often.

(*f*) by the frequent **omission of the subject of the participle**: *iudices certaminis* (*Nero*) *reverentissime adloquebatur . . . atque ut auderet hortantibus aequiore animo recedebat,* Nero, § 23; *absoluto, Rhodum secedere statuit,* Iul. § 4; *sumenti virilem togam . . . ad pedes decidit,* Aug. § 94; *patres in curia salutavit; etiam discedens eodem modo sedentibus valere dicebat,* Aug. § 53.

(*g*) by the **omission of other words**: *ne provincialibus quidem matrimoniis abstinuisse* (eum) *hoc disticho apparet,* Iul. § 51; *cum lictor animadverti iussisset* (sc. consulem adesse), Iul. § 80.

9. Pleonasm infrequent and only in short phrases: *rursus repetita,* Iul. § 2; *recidit rursus,* Iul. § 17; *relata rursus,* Tib. § 63; *ante praesensit,* Aug. § 96, where *ante* is adverbial (cf. Hand, p. 385); *non distulit quin e vestigio,* etc., Iul. § 4; *quodammodo pro parte aliqua,* Aug. § 46; *exegit invicem benevolentiam mutuam,* Aug. § 66; *paene . . . prope,* Tib. § 68; *vera plane certaque,* Tib. § 59; *repente ex inopinato,* Galb. § 10; *rursus redegit,* Aug. § 31; *Thallo . . . crura ei fregit,* Aug. § 67; *pisciculos minutos,* Aug. § 75; *rursus reddidit,* Aug. § 94.

Anaphora is rarely found: *sine gubernatore, sine nauta ac vectore ullo,* Galb. § 10.

10. Peculiarities of Order. (*a*) **Inversion of proper names** as often in Livy and Tacitus: *Mamercum Aemilium,* Iul. § 1; *Pollio Asinius,* Iul. § 56; *Cimber Til-*

lius, Iul. § 82; *Gallum Terrinium*, Aug. § 53; *Asprenas Nonius*, Aug. § 56; *Cimber Annius*, Aug. § 86.

(*b*) *nullus non* several times for the more usual *non nullus : nullius non*, Aug. § 32; *nullos non*, Iul. § 76; Tib. § 66.

(*c*) Some marked instances of the **attributive order**: *quattuor quibus in conspectum venit horis*, Iul. § 35; *plurium quam quisquam umquam impetraverat dierum*, Iul. § 24; *clarissimo tunc magistro*, Iul. § 4; *ad tam insignem despecti senatus contumeliam*, Iul. § 79.

(*d*) **causa** with the force of a preposition precedes its case twice: *causa detrectandi sacramenti*, Aug. § 24; *causa vitandae opinionis*, Vit. Ter. (p. 293, Roth).

(*e*) **coram** follows its case (**anastrophe**) five times: Aug. § 69; Nero, § 33; Otho, § 1; Tit. § 10; Vit. Hor. (p. 297, Roth).

(*f*) Frequent use of the **chiastic arrangement**: *nudatos opere censorio aut sententia iudicum de ambitu condemnatos*, Iul. § 41; *detrectante dominationem atque assertores flagitante*, Iul. § 80; *necem avunculi vindicare tuerique acta*, Aug. § 10; *interclusos commeatus famemque ingravescentem*, Aug. § 16; *fusis armamentis et gubernaculo diffracto*, Aug. § 17; *ratio militaris aut temporum quies*, Aug. § 25; *inmaturitate sponsarum et matrimoniorum mutatione*, Aug. § 34; *assurrectum ab universo in theatro et a stantibus plausum*, Aug. § 56; *Gigantum ossa et arma Heroum*, Aug. § 74; *honorum satietatem ac requiem laborum*, Tib. § 10.

(*g*) **General variations** from the regular order: *ad Tiberim usque*, Iul. § 44; *enim et* for *etenim*, Aug. § 99; *ad consulatum usque*, Aug. § 66; *numquam non*, Aug. § 73; *Bovillas usque deportarunt*, Aug. § 100; *post statim*, Aug. § 28.

(*h*) **Hysteron Proteron** (rare): *augurium capienti . . . et immolanti*, Aug. § 95.

11. Adjectives. (*a*) **Adjective used for genitive** of a noun (Enallage): *gladiatorium munus*, Iul. § 10; *opere censorio*, Iul. § 41; *Tituriana clades*, Iul. § 67; *Dyrrachina*

munitione, Iul. § 68; *gregarium militem*, Aug. § 14; *turba militaris*, id. ib.; *biremibus Pompeianis*, Iul. § 16; *militari opere*, Iul. § 18; *pro ultione paterna*, Iul. § 29; *cladem Varianum*, Iul. § 49; *e Pompeiana domo in hortos Maecenatianos transmigravit*, Tib. § 15.

(*b*) **Adjective or participle used for the substantive**: *imperata*, Iul. § 54; *curiosum ac speculatorem*, Aug. § 27; *raritate remanentium*, Aug. § 45; *cum illustrioribus provinciarum*, Iul. § 48; *obaeratorum*, Iul. § 27, and often.

(*c*) **Adjectives in -bundus** are rare: *errabundus*, Iul. § 31; *indignabundus*, Aug. § 40; *speculabundus*, Tib. § 65; *ludibundus*, Nero, § 26; *venerabundus*, Calig. § 15.

12. Substantives. (*a*) **Substantive** rarely used **for adjective**: *per intercessores tribunos*, Iul. § 29; *arator bos*, Vesp. § 5; *arbor cupressus* (?), Vesp. § 5; *serpens draco*, Tib. § 72.

(*b*) Extraordinary fondness for the **Partitive Genitive**: *inter adversa temporum*, Tit. § 8; *inter asperrimas insularum*, id. ib.; *nonnulli urbanorum*, Aug. § 59; *quotiens quid spectaculi ederetur*, Aug. § 44; *tantum hominum*, Iul. § 39; *per secreta Thraciae*, Aug. § 94; *quidquid ubique militum esset*, Aug. § 49; *quidquid fatidicorum librorum*, Aug. § 31; *ob libidinum probra*, Claud. § 26; *rerumque missilia*, Aug. § 98; *cava terrarum*, and *per cava terrae*, Reiffersch. Reliq. 246. 4, and 245. 12, like the *prima virorum* of Lucret. 1. 86, and the *strata viarum* of Verg. Aen. 1. 422; *quicquam rei seriae*, Aug. § 92.

(*c*) The Genitive is found with the adjectives *anxius*, Calig. § 19; *certus*, Tib. § 61; *incuriosus*, Aug. § 79; *parcus*, Iul. § 53; *perosus*, Vesp. § 4; *superstes*, Tib. § 62; and *tenax*, Iul. § 67.

(*d*) The Genitive is used, by a Greek construction, after *maior*: *maiores annorum quinque et triginta*, Aug. § 38.

(*e*) The **Dative of the Agent** is common: Iul. §§ 2, 19, 20, 88; Aug. § 1.

(*f*) A rather harsh use is often made of the **Ablative**

of Manner : *morte praeventus est, maiore hominum damno quam suo,* Tit. § 10.

(*g*) Free use of the **Temporal Ablative** : *ludis = tempore ludorum,* Iul. §§ 39, 88 ; Aug. § 44 ; Calig. § 26 ; and exceedingly often. Cf. in Gk. **Διονυσίοις, Παναθηναίοις.** Also *bello finitimo,* Aug. § 1 ; *senatus lectione,* Aug. § 54 ; *Dyrrachina munitione,* Iul. § 68 ; *dedicatione pontis,* Calig. § 32. Often of duration : *brevi tempore,* Iul. § 3.

(*h*) The **Ablative of Accompaniment** without *cum : se ad matrem uno comite contulisset,* Domit. § 1 ; *paucissimis comitibus subsecutus,* Aug. § 8.

(*i*) Very rare use of the **Ablative with Comparatives** : Iul. § 3 ; Nero, § 3.

(*k*) Remarkably free use of the **Ablative Absolute** : *quamvis nullo querente,* Iul. § 49 ; cf. supra, 8. *c.*

[Note.—A few **diminutives** occur in the sense of the ordinary noun . *clausula,* Aug. § 99 ; *muliercula,* Tib. § 6 ; *nutricula,* Aug. § 94 ; *ponticulum,* Iul. § 31 ; *lecticula,* Aug. § 78.]

13. Verbs. (*a*) **The Moods.**

INFINITIVE.

The following verbs take the accusative with the infinitive contrary to the general usage of the best classical prose : *non dubito* (so Livy and especially Nepos), Claud. § 35 ; Nero, § 28.——*non dubium est :* Iul. § 52 ; Galb. § 10.——*neglegere* = ἀμελεῖν, παροράν, Tib. § 41 ; Nero, § 33.——*interdicere :* Galba, § 6.——*orare :* Nero, § 47 ——*reclamare :* Aug. § 47.——*emanare :* Nero, § 6.——*imperare* = *iubere* with accus. and infin. pass., Aug. § 27 ; Tib. §§ 57, 60 ; Nero, §§ 24, 33, 49.——*prohibere :* Aug. §§ 31, 45 ; Tib. § 26.——*praecipere :* Aug. § 99.——*flagitare :* Nero, § 44.——And the following, more poetico, with the supplementary infinitive : *meditor, dignor* = ἀξιοῦν ; *destino, opto, instituo, iubeo, apparo, curo, aggredior, auspicor* = incipio, *dedignor, recuso, desisto* (classical), *abstineo, valeo* = pos-

sum ; *compello, concedo, simulo, magni aestimare, in magno negotio habere.*

The infinitive also follows : *animus est*——*animus fert* (Otho, § 6),——*curam duco*——*contentus*——*assuetus*——*consuetus*——*paratus*——*compertus*——*mos est* and *moris est.*

Active infinitive used where the passive would be more natural : *cum haruspices imperium orbis terrae significare pronuntiasset*, Iul. § 61 ; cf. Aug. § 94.

The accus. with the infinit. is sometimes retained in subordinate clauses of the Oratio Obliqua : *quarum amplitudinem conferentem interdum sua manu exegisse pondus*, Iul. § 47. Cf. Iul. § 52; Gramm. § 7.

Historical Infinitive (once used) : Nero, § 43 (?).

SUBJUNCTIVE.

The potential subjunctive is very frequently used in polite affirmations (Baum-Crus. III. p. 833) : *non minora illa constantiae eius, immo maiora etiam iudicia fuerint*, Iul. § 63. Cf. with Baum-Crus. and Thimm (p. 85) the following: Aug. §§ 7, 16, 73, 76, 94; Calig. §§ 8, 26, 51, 60; Nero, §§ 13, 31 (bis), 39.

(*b*) **The Tenses.**

Very frequent use of the present tense in quoting authorities : *idem Curio sed et M. Actorius Naso auctores sunt*, Iul. § 9. Cf. Aug. §§ 3, 15, 16, 62, 63, 69, 70, 71, 76, 77, 82, 94.

The so-called Historical Present is of rare occurrence as compared with the usage of other historical writers : *igitur cum Bibulo consul creatur*, Iul. § 19 ; *haud multo post cognoscit*, Galba, § 19. Cf. Roth, Praef. xvi. Thimm cites also the passage in Iul. § 82, descriptive of Caesar's death, where the present and the perfect tenses are mingled together. Also cf. Iul. § 83, init.; Tib. § 3 ; Nero, § 4, init.

Irregular use of the tenses in subordinate clauses of

various kinds: (*a*) the present subjunctive where we should naturally look for the imperfect: *Gallias elegit cuius emolumento et opportunitate idonea sit materia triumphorum*, Iul. § 22. Cf. Aug. §§ 49, 55; Tib. § 24; Calig. § 34;——(*b*) more often the perfect for the imperfect: *tam constans fama erat ut senatus decreverit*, etc., Iul. § 6. Cf. also Iul. §§ 12, 13, 14, 24, 48, 57, 62, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 76, 78; Aug. §§ 11, 17, 21, 27, 28, 41, 44, 45, 53, 64, 79, 92, 94, 100;——(*c*) promiscuous use of the perfect and imperfect, for which Roth cites Iul. §§ 22, 39; Tib. §§ 52, 70; Calig. § 60; Claud. § 4; Vesp. § 4; some of which he has corrected in the text, e.g., *quin iactaret et responderit*, found in the Codex Memmianus, but corrected by Roth so as to read *responderet*.

Often *fuerit* for *sit*, *fuerat* for *erat*, and *fuisset* for *esset* in perfect and pluperfect passives: *fuerat occisus*, Iul. § 84. Cf. Aug. § 18; Calig. §§ 8 and 20; Nero, §§ 46 and 49; Vesp. § 6. Also *forent* for *essent*, Tib. § 31, and elsewhere.

(*c*) **General Remarks.**

Compounds are often used in the sense of the simple verb: *praepono* = *pono*, Iul. § 20; *decedere* = *cedere*, Iul. § 24; *deducere* = *ducere*, Aug. § 43; Vesp. § 5; *depugnare* = *pugnare*, Iul. § 39; *persolvere* = *solvere*, Aug. § 15; Calig. § 16.

Reduplication is occasionally preserved in compound verbs: *accucurrerunt*, Calig. § 58; *concucurrisse*, Iul. § 15; *decucurrit*, Nero, § 11; *discucurrit*, Calig. § 32; *excucurrisset*, Galb. § 18; *percucurrit*, Nero, § 3; Tib. § 9; *procucurrisset*, Claud. § 29; *transcucurrisset*, Calig. § 24; *depoposcerunt*, Iul. § 68; *depoposcerat*, Tib. § 55. Cf. also Calig. § 56; Claud. § 11; Vitell. § 1; Vesp. § 2; Domit. § 2; Tib. § 25.

The following verbs, contrary to the general usage of Cicero, take the ablative in Suet.: *confido* (Iul. § 86); *diffido* (Iul. § 3); *indigeo* (Aug. §§ 29, 89); *impono* (Iul. §§ 79, 82); *mergo* (Calig. § 20).

The following verbs, originally intransitive, are used by Suetonius as transitive: *expavesco*, Aug. § 55; *exhorresco*, Aug. § 53; *abhorreo*, Aug. § 83; *ludo*, Aug. § 70; *doleo*, Aug. § 69; *ceno*, Aug. § 70; *maneo*, Tib. § 67.—Occasionally we find the cognate accusative: *qui viverent vitam*, Domit. § 12.

Frequentative verbs are used fairly often, but generally with their true force, whereas Livy, according to Müller, has upwards of 120 frequentatives in the sense of the simple verbs. The following frequentatives are used by Suet. in the first two books of the *Lives*: *adinspecto*, Iul. § 86; *canto*, Iul. § 84; *cenito*, Aug. § 75; *cesso*, Iul. §§ 58, 76; *clamito*, Aug. § 40; *conflicto*, Aug. § 17; *detrecto*, Iul. §§ 33, 80; *dictito*, Iul. § 30; *dicto*, Iul. § 26; *discepto*, Aug. § 93; *exagito*, Aug. § 85; *gesto*, Iul. § 84, Aug. § 94; *interviso*, Aug. § 24; *invisito*, Aug. § 43; *iacto*, Aug. §§ 12, 25; *occulto*, Iul. § 71; *ostento*, Iul. § 33, Aug. § 34; *pensito*, Iul. § 30, Aug. § 66; *penso*, Aug. § 25; *retracto*, Aug. § 34; *reviso*, Iul. § 46; *secto*, Aug. §§ 25, 90; *specto*, Aug. §§ 44, 45 (quater), 53; *tento*, Aug. § 81; *tracto*, Iul. § 72, Aug. §§ 3, 13; *vendito*, Aug. § 74; *volito*, Iul. § 81.

Impersonal Use of verbs: *convivatum* (est), Iul. § 48; *conspiratum est*, Iul. § 80; *eisdem assurrectum ab universis in theatro et a stantibus plausum*, Aug. § 56; *ventum est*, Aug. § 94.

The verb **fungor** is several times used with the accusative: *quo . . . senatoria munera fungerentur*, Aug. § 35; *quaesturam functi*, Aug. § 36; Aug. § 45.

14. Participles.

No Latin writer makes so extensive a **use of participles** as Suetonius. They are employed by him chiefly to avoid the use of subordinate clauses, and to pack as much meaning as possible into a single sentence. Compare for instance, such sentences as the following from Iul. § 14: Praetor *creatus detecta* coniuratione Catilinae senatuque universo in socios facinoris ultimam *statuente* poenam souls municipatim *dividendos custodiendos*que *publicatis*

bonis censuit. And this, Iul. § 35: Urbe *repetita* in Macedoniam *transgressus*, Pompeium . . . maximis *obsessum* operibus ad extremum fudit et *fugientem persecutus* ut *occisum* deprehendit cum Ptolemaeo rege bellum gessit . . . inops ipse omnium rerum atque *imparatus*. Thimm* has counted the number of participles of all kinds in the first 58 pages of the *Lives* (Roth), and on the basis of the result obtained, estimates that Suetonius uses upwards of 3000 participles. The following uses are to be noted :

(*a*) **Perfect passive participle** used of present time, e.g. *subsecutus*, Aug. § 8; *conflictatus*, Aug. § 17; *turbatus*, id. ib.

(*b*) **Present participle** for a perfect, ἀορίστως: *admonens* = κελεύσας, Iul. § 65; and cf. Tib. § 31; Claud. § 25; Galb. § 5.

(*c*) **Participle often used for the substantive**. Cf. supra, 11, *b*.

(*d*) The participle used concessively takes the concessive particle oftener in Suet. than in preceding writers: *quamvis recusantem*, Iul. § 70; *quamvis nullo querente*, Iul. § 49; *quamquam offensis intervenientibus*, Aug. § 66.

(*e*) **Future participle used to denote purpose** as in Greek = a final clause with *ut : vindicaturus*, Iul. § 30; *domum clam refugit pro condicione temporum quieturus*, Iul. § 16; and so *transfretaturi*, Iul. § 34; *asserturi*, Claud. § 10; *pacem petituros*, Vit. § 16.——Also used **instead of a temporal clause** with *cum : Tiberium dimissurus . . . exclamavit*, Aug. § 97. Cf. also Tib. §§ 18, 72; Nero, § 13.——Also **instead of a conditional clause**: *abstinuit in Senatu; adeo quidem ut monopolium nominaturus veniam prius postularet*, Tib. § 71.——**concessively**: *Arrecinum capitis condemnaturus, in eadem vel maiore gratia habuit*, Domit. § 11.——**With quasi**: *quasi mox lecturus*, Iul. § 81, and often.

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* H. R. Thimm, *De Usu atque Elocutione C. Suetonii Tranquilli :* Königsberg, 1867,—a treatise which confines itself chiefly to particular points of syntax.

16. Prepositions.

a, ab:

(*a*) = **ὑπό**; *nihilque referre ab hoste in acie . . . caderet,* Otho, § 5.

(*b*) of time and = *post,* oftenest with *statim; statim a funere,* Iul. § 85; *vixdum firmus a gravi valetudine,* Aug. § 8. And so *ex.*

(*c*) = **πρός**; *a matre* = **πρὸς μητρός,** Aug. § 4.

(*d*) = *de: perpauca a se verba addidit,* Iul. § 84; *singula milia a se dividebat,* Aug. § 40.

(*e*) with the ablative of towns and small islands, generally when motion from one place to another is meant: *ab Rhodo transiit,* Iul. § 4; *ab Alexandria in Syriam transiit,* Iul. § 35; *a Brundisio Dyrrachium . . . transmisit,* Iul. § 58; *reverso* (eo) *ab Apollonia,* Aug. § 95; *a Nola, Bovillas usque deportarunt,* Aug. § 100. (See Hand, Tursell. I. p. 10.)

(*f*) of place where: *a vertice,* Iul. § 45.

[Note.—**absque** is not found in Suetonius.]

ad:

(*a*) = *in: arrepto deductoque ad terram Stephanio,* Domit. § 17.

(*b*) with names of cities: *ad Perusiam secutus,* Tib. § 4.

(*c*) with an accessory motion of remaining at a place: *invitabo ad cenam,* Claud. § 4; *ad remum datis,* Aug. § 16.

(*d*) = *usque ad: ad certum tempus,* Aug. § 41; *ad necem compulso,* id. § 66; *ad multam noctem permanebat,* Aug. § 78; Calig. § 15; Claud. § 26.

(*e*) denoting vicinity = *apud* as **πρός** = **παρά**: *navali ad Massiliam proelio,* Iul. § 68. (See Hand, II. 1. 3.)

(*f*) of occasion: *ad primum ictum,* Iul. § 82; *ad occasionem aurae,* Aug. § 97; *ad subita,* Aug. § 84; *ad Kal. Graecas,* Aug. § 87.

(*g*) = *circiter: ad viginti milibus,* Iul. §§ 20, 25.

(*h*) = *secundum: ad libidinem,* Iul. § 76; Aug. § 46.

(*i*) to denote one's occupation, like *ab: ad cyathum et vinum stetisse,* Iul. § 49; *militem positum ad custodiam,*

Nero, § 21. Cf. Aug. § 25; Nero, § 37; Aug. § 36, and often.

(*k*) in formulaic expressions: *ad hoc* = *praeterea*, ἐπὶ τούτοις, Nero, § 46; *ad praesens* = εἰς τὸ παρόν, *in praesens* (Cic.), Tit. § 6; *ad verbum* = αὐτολεξεί, Iul. §§ 30, 55; Aug. § 89; *ad summam* = *in summa* or *in universum*, Aug. § 71.

adversus = *contra*: *adversus convicia*, Tib. § 28.

ante:

(*a*) for *antea*: *nisi ante per se portus . . . explorasset*, Iul. § 58; cf. Iul. § 74; Aug. § 62; Claud. §§ 21, 27.

(*b*) = *prae*: *ante alias dilexit Serviliam*, Iul. § 50, where *ante alias* = *prae aliis*, *in primis*.

(*c*) with a following *quam*, still used as a preposition and governing an accus. *ante paucos dies quam aedilitatem iniret*, Iul. § 9. Cf. Aug. §§ 94, 101.

apud = *in* w. abl. of towns and places: *apud Herculis templum*, Iul. § 7: *apud insulam Capreas*, Aug. § 92; *apud Iudaeam*, Aug. § 93.

circa, circum:

(*a*) "around about," Germ. *herum*: *libellos circum tribum missos*, Iul. § 41; *consules designatos circum provincias dimisit*, Aug. § 64.

(*b*) of vicinity, adverbial: *nisi ut circa adequitarent*, Aug. § 64.

(*c*) = *ad*, *apud*: *dispositis circa macellum custodibus*, Iul. § 43; Nero, § 13; Vitell. § 13.

(*d*) of companions = οἱ περί τινα: *omnibus circa eum*, Iul. § 27; *omnes circa se*, Domit. § 9.

(*e*) of time (always *circa*): *circa undecimam horam*, Iul. § 88; *circa Kalĕndas*, Nero, § 15.

(*f*) = *circiter*: *circa quartum miliarium*, Nero, § 48.

(*g*) = *erga*: *circa corporis curam morosior*, Iul. § 45, and § 53; *circa libidines haesit*, Aug. § 71; cf. Aug. § 90; Tib. § 69; Nero, § 51; Domit. § 3.

citra:

(*a*) = *ante*: *citra spectaculorum dies*: Aug. § 43.

(*b*) = *sine: citra senatus populique auctoritatem*, Iul. § 28; *citra honorem verborum*, Aug. § 66; cf. Aug. § 24; Claud. § 35. And so *ultra*, Iul. § 28.

contra = *autem* as αὖ for δέ: *contra Senatus adeo laetatus est*, Domit. § 23.

cum: of infrequent use in Suet. Cf. Thimm, p. 56.

de. Used often to secure brevity: cf. supra, 8, *b*.

ex. Cf. supra, 8, *b*.

in:

I. With the Accusative.

(*a*) of time: *in reliquum anni tempus*, Iul. § 14; *in posterum*, Aug. §§ 1, 18, and often; *in perpetuum*, Iul. § 26; *in praeteritum*, Domit. § 9; *in serum*, Otho, § 11; *in multam noctem* = *ad m. n.*, Tib. § 74; *in immensum*, Tib. § 34; *in commune* = εἰς κοινόν, Nero, § 15; *in duplum*, Aug. § 41.

II. With the Ablative.

(*a*) very often omitted: *regione Thurina* = *in r. T.*, Aug. § 5; *regione Tiburti*, Calig. § 21; *lectica cubans*, Aug. § 43. Also in citing books: *autographa quadam epistula*, Aug. § 71; *commentario ausus est scribere*, Tib. § 61.

(*b*) = *cum*; a Graecism, representing ἐν: *in veste domestica*, Vitell. § 8; *in veste palmata*, Claud. § 17, and often.

(*c*) of money like the Eng. "in:" *decies sestertium in auro*, Galb. § 8; *quod partem rei familiaris in pecunia haberent*, Tib. § 49.

(*d*) of time: *in tempore hiberno*, Claud. § 18; *saepius in die*, Gram. § 23; *in illo temporis spatio*, Aug. § 78; Iul. § 68; *in senecta*, Aug. § 79.

inter:

(*a*) of place, by the old usage: *Aponio . . . inter subsellia dormitante*, Calig. § 38; *inter manus sublevantium extinctus est*, Vesp. § 24.

(*b*) = *apud*: *professus ante inter suos*, Iul. § 34; *domi et inter suos*, Aug. § 61.

(*c*) in technical terms with the vbs. *adlegare, adscribere,*

coopto, *numerare*, and *referre*. Cf. Aug. § 2; Nero, § 1; Otho, § 1; Galb. § 8.

(*d*) of time; *inter initia* = *initio*, Tib. §§ 26, 57; Claud. § 44; Nero, § 22; Domit. § 9. So *inter iocum*, Iul. § 4; *inter cenam*, Aug. § 71; Tib. § 53; Galb. § 22; *inter moras*, Aug. § 78, and often. (Hand, III. p. 402.)

(*e*) = *interea*: *inter haec* as a phrase, Tib. §§ 8, 63; *inter quae*, Iul. § 26.

(*f*) with gerunds and participles: *inter canendum* Nero, § 32; *inter res agendas*, Iul. § 45.

intra:

(*a*) of place: *intra castra*, Iul. § 75.

(*b*) of time: *intra paucos rursus dies*, Iul. § 2.

(*c*) followed by *quam*: *intra quintum quam adfuerat diem*, Iul. § 35.

(*d*) as an adverb: *intraque lectus stratus* (est), Iul. § 84.

iuxta:

(*a*) as an adverb: *adiecto clam iuxta pugione*, Nero, § 34.

(*b*) = *idem* (only in the Fragments): *iuxta quod et postea memini*, Reiff. Rel. 215. 6.

ob. *ob id*, *ob hoc*, etc., for *ideo*: cf. Iul. § 8; Aug. § 53.

[**penes**. Not found in Suetonius, according to Thimm, p. 46.]

per. A favorite preposition of Suetonius.

(*a*) rarely of space through which: *per Armeniam*, Iul. § 44.

(*b*) in the sense of "throughout:" *excubias per urbem indixit*, Aug. § 23.

(*c*) of duration of time: *per totum diem*, Aug. § 24, and often.

(*d*) in the sense of "amid:" *per somnum*, Iul. § 45; *per pacem*, Aug. § 32.

(*e*) of means or instrument, very often: *per illum vivere*, Aug. § 98.

(*f*) of mental causes: *per iram*, Aug. § 54; *per metum*, Aug. § 67; *per discordiam*, Tib. § 37.

(*g*) in adverbial phrases very often: *per vices*, Nero,

§ 15; *per iocum* = *ioco*, Iul. § 20; *per contumeliam*, Iul. § 22; *per occasionem*, Aug. § 67; *per ludibrium*, Galba, § 12; *per speciem*, Tib. §§ 36, 50; *per oblivionem*, Iul. § 28.

post with pronouns = *postea*: *post hoc*, Tib. § 9; *post haec*, Iul. § 75.

pro, in the sense of "as," more often used by Suetonius than by any other writer; *pro dicto accepit quod visu suspicabatur*, Iul. § 33.

procul used as a preposition: *procul dubio*, Nero, § 3. Cf. with Thimm, Bonnell, Index Quint. p. 700.

sub:

I. With the Accusative.

(*a*) = the abl. of time: *sub idem tempus*, Iul. § 21; Aug. §§ 65, 97.

(*b*) *sub manum* = *protenus*, ὑπὸ χεῖρα, Aug. § 49.

II. With the Ablative.

(*a*) of time: *sub die comitiorum*, Aug. § 46.

(*b*) with proper names like ἐπί w. the gen. *sub Tiberio*, Calig. § 21.

(*c*) denoting subjection: *sub priore marito*, Tib. § 7.

super:

I. With the Accusative.

(*a*) = *inter*: *super cenam* = ἐπὶ δείπνῳ, Iul. § 87; Aug. § 77; Tib. § 56, and often.

(*b*) of number; and so *supra*: *erant super mille*, Aug. § 35; *supra duo milia*, Aug. § 31.

(*c*) = *praeter*: *super templa et aras ludos quoque*, Aug. § 59.

(*d*) in the phrase *aliis super alios*, = ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις, Nero, § 41.

II. With the Ablative = *de*: *habuit et super ea re contionem*, Iul. § 5; *nihil super ea re statuere*, Tib. § 13.

[NOTE.—**exadversum** appears once as an advb.: *iuxtim vel exadversum*, Tib. § 33.]

17. Conjunctions.

atque, et, and **-que** used adversatively: *non enim cessit umquam tumultuantibus atque etiam obviam semper iit*,

Iul. § 69; *neque dissimulavit et saepe professus est*, etc., Aug. § 45; *amicitias neque facile admisit et constantissime retinuit*, Aug. § 66; *inferior gratia esset pecuniaque polleret*, Iul. § 19.——**ceterum** used to introduce a new thought and = *sed* (Tac. and Livy): *ceterum composita seditione*, etc., Iul. § 4; *ceterum Caecilio Metello . . . praestitit*, Iul. § 16; *laudavit ceterum* et *illacrimavit*, Aug. § 66.——**et** for *etiam* is extremely common as in Livy, especially in the expression: *non modo . . . sed et: meruit et sub Servilio*, Iul. § 2; *idem Curio sed et*, Iul. § 9, where see note; *quin et*, Iul. § 14; *non modo cessit sed et abstinuit*, Iul. § 14; *mox et ipse*, Iul. § 23; and Aug. §§ 53, 68, 70, 92, et saepe. *sed et* very often begins the sentence. In Aug. § 55, *et = nec: libellos nec expavit et magna cura redarguit.*——*et . . . que* for *et . . . et* (rare in Cic.) is found frequently in Suet. Cf. Nero, § 33, init.——**quamquam** used with the subjunctive: *quamquam magnis condicionibus invitaretur*, Iul. § 3; used with the participle for *quamvis: reliqui floruerunt quamquam et offensis intervenientibus*, Aug. § 66.——**quamvis** used concessively with the ablative absolute: *quamvis nullo querente*, Iul. § 48.—— **-que** used adversatively, see supra, init. It is appended to a preposition not repeated in Aug. § 52, *exque iis*, on which see note. *que . . . et* is not found in Suetonius.

[See the treatise by E. Trachmann, *De Coniunctionum Causal. apud Suetonium Usu*. Halle, 1886.]

SUGGESTIONS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

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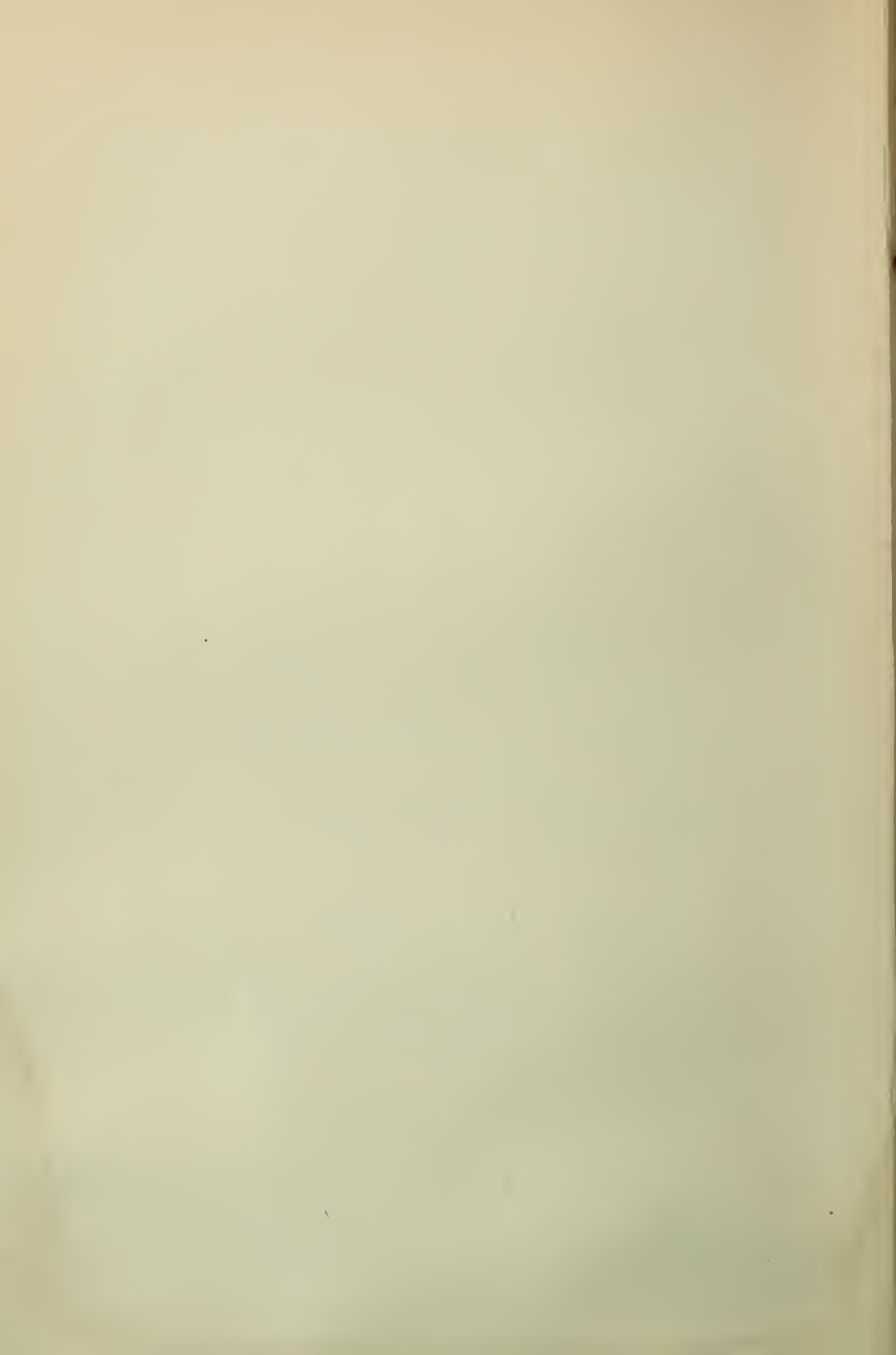
DIVUS IULIUS.

* * * * *

1. Annum agens sextum decimum, patrem amisit; sequentibusque consulibus flamen Dialis destinatus, dimissa Cossutia, quae familia equestri sed admodum dives praetextato desponsata fuerat, Corneliam Cinnae quater consulis filiam duxit uxorem, ex qua illi mox Iulia nata est; neque ut repudiaret compelli a dictatore Sulla ullo modo potuit. Quare et sacerdotio et uxoris dote et gentilicis hereditatibus multatus, diversarum partium habebatur, ut etiam discedere e medio et quamquam morbo quartanae adgravante prope per singulas noctes commutare latebras cogeretur, seque ab inquisitoribus pecunia redimeret; donec per virgines vestales, perque Mamercum Aemilium et Aurelium Cottam propinquos et adfines suos veniam impetravit. Satis constat Sullam, cum deprecantibus amicissimis et ornatissimis viris aliquamdiu denegasset atque illi pertinaciter contenderent, expugnatum tandem proclamasse, sive divinitus sive aliqua coniectura, 'vincerent ac sibi haberent, dum modo scirent eum, quem incolumem tanto opere cuperent, quandoque optimatium partibus, quas

secum simul defendissent, exitio futurum; nam Caesari multos Marios inesse.'

2. Stipendia prima in Asia fecit Marci Thermi praetoris contubernio; a quo ad accersendam classem in Bithyniam missus, desedit apud Nicomeden, non sine rumore prostratae pudicitiae; quem rumorem auxit, intra paucos rursus dies repetita Bithynia per causam exigendae pecuniae, quae deberetur cuidam libertino clienti suo. Reliqua militia secundiore fama fuit, et a Thermo in expugnatione Mytilenarum corona civica donatus est.

3. Meruit et sub Servilio Isaurico in Cilicia, sed brevi tempore. Nam Sullae morte comperta, simul spe novae dissensionis, quae per Marcum Lepidum movebatur, Romam propere redit. Et Lepidi quidem societate, quamquam magnis condicionibus invitaretur, abstinuit, cum ingenio eius diffisus tum occasione, quam minorem opinione offenderat.

4. Ceterum composita seditione civili, Cornelium Dolabellam consularem et triumphalem repetundarum postulavit; absolutoque Rhodum secedere statuit, et ad declinandam invidiam et ut per otium ac requiem Apollonio Moloni clarissimo tunc dicendi magistro operam daret. Huc dum hibernis iam mensibus traicit, circa Pharmacussam insulam a praedonibus captus est, mansitque apud eos, non sine summa indignatione, prope quadraginta dies cum uno medico et cubicularis duobus. Nam comites servosque ceteros initio statim ad expediendas pecunias quibus redimeretur, dimiserat. Numeratis deinde quinquaginta talentis, expositus in litore non distulit quin e vestigio classe deducta persequeretur abeuntis, ac redactos in

potestatem supplicio quod saepe illis minatus inter iocum fuerat, adficeret. Vastante regiones proximas Mithridate ne desidere in discrimine sociorum videretur, ab Rhodo quo pertenderat, transiit in Asiam, auxiliisque contractis et praefecto regis provincia expulso, nutantis ac dubias civitates retinuit in fide.

5. Tribunatu militum, qui primus Romam reverso per suffragia populi honor optigit, actores restituendae tribuniciae potestatis, cuius vim Sulla diminuerat, enixissime iuvit. L. etiam Cinnae uxoris fratri, et qui cum eo civili discordia Lepidum secuti post necem consulis ad Sertorium confugerant, reditum in civitatem rogatione Plotia confecit, habuitque et ipse super ea re contionem.

6. Quaestor Iuliam amitam uxoremque Corneliam defunctas laudavit e more pro rostris. Et in amitae quidem laudatione de eius ac patris sui utraque origine sic refert: "Amitae meae Iuliae maternum genus ab regibus ortum, paternum cum diis immortalibus coniunctum est. Nam ab Anco Marcio sunt Marcii Reges, quo nomine fuit mater; a Venere Iulii, cuius gentis familia est nostra. Est ergo in genere et sanctitas regum, qui plurimum inter homines pollent, et caerimonia deorum, quorum ipsi in potestate sunt reges." In Corneliae autem locum Pompeiam duxit Quinti Pompei filiam, L. Sullae neptem; cum qua deinde divortium fecit, adulteratam opinatus a Publio Clodio, quem inter publicas caerimonias penetrasse ad eam muliebri veste tam constans fama erat, ut senatus quaestionem de pollutis sacris decreverit.

7. Quaestori ulterior Hispania obvenit; ubi cum

mandatu praetoris iure dicundo conventus circumiret Gadisque venisset, animadversa apud Herculis templum Magni Alexandri imagine, ingemuit et quasi pertaesus ignaviam suam, quod nihil dum a se memorabile actum esset in aetate, qua iam Alexander orbem terrarum subegisset, missionem continuo efflagitavit, ad captandas quam primum maiorum rerum occasiones in urbe.

8. Decedens ergo ante tempus, colonias Latinas de petenda civitate agitantes adiit, et ad audendum aliquid concitasset, nisi consules conscriptas in Ciliciam legiones paulisper ob id ipsum retinuissent.

9. Nec eo secius maiora mox in urbe molitus est. Siquidem ante paucos dies quam aedilitatem iniret, venit in suspicionem conspirasse cum Marco Crasso consulari, item Publio Sulla et L. Autronio post designationem consulatus ambitus condemnatis, ut principio anni senatum adorirentur, et trucidatis quos placitum esset, dictaturam Crassus invaderet, ipse ab eo magister equitum diceretur, constitutaque ad arbitrium re publica, Sullae et Autronio consulatus restitueretur. Meminerunt huius coniurationis Tanusius Geminus in historia, Marcus Bibulus in edictis, C. Curio pater in orationibus. De hac significare videtur et Cicero, in quadam ad Axium epistula referens, Caesarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum, de quo aedilis cogitarat. Tanusius adicit, Crassum paenitentia vel metu diem caedi destinatum non obisse, et idcirco ne Caesarem quidem signum, quod ab eo dari convenerat, dedisse; convenisse autem Curio ait, ut togam de umero deiceret. Idem Curio sed et

M. Actorius Naso auctores sunt, conspirasse eum etiam cum Gnaeo Pisone adulescente cui ob suspicionem urbanae coniurationis provincia Hispania ultro extra ordinem data sit; pactumque, ut simul foris ille, ipse Romae ad res novas consurgerent, per Ambranos et Transpadanos; destitutum utriusque consilium morte Pisonis.

10. Aedilis praeter comitium ac forum basilicasque etiam Capitolium ornavit porticibus ad tempus exstructis, in quibus abundante rerum copia pars apparatus exponeretur. Venationes autem ludosque et cum collega et separatim edidit, quo factum est, ut communium quoque inpensarum solus gratiam caperet, nec dissimularet collega eius Marcus Bibulus, 'evenisse sibi quod Polluci: ut enim geminis fratribus aedes in foro constituta tantum Castoris vocaretur, ita suam Caesarisque munificentiam unius Caesaris dici.' Adiecit insuper Caesar etiam gladiatorium munus, sed aliquanto paucioribus quam destinaverat paribus; nam cum multiplici undique familia comparata inimicos exterruisset, cautum est de numero gladiatorum, quo ne maiorem cuiquam habere Romae liceret.

11. Conciliato populi favore temptavit per partem tribunorum, ut sibi Aegyptus provincia plebi scito daretur, nanctus extraordinarii imperii occasionem, quod Alexandrini regem suum socium atque amicum a senatu appellatum expulerant, resque vulgo inprobabatur. Nec obtinuit adversante optimatium factione, quorum auctoritatem ut quibus posset modis in vicem diminueret, tropaea Gai Mari de Iugurtha deque Cimbris atque

Teutonis, olim a Sulla disiecta, restituit, atque in exercenda de sicaris quaestione eos quoque sicariorum numero habuit, qui proscriptione ob relata civium Romanorum capita pecunias ex aerario acceperant, quamquam exceptos Cornelis legibus.

12. Subornavit etiam qui Gaio Rabirio perduellionis diem diceret, quo praecipuo adiutore aliquot ante annos Luci Saturnini seditiosum tribunatum senatus coercuerat; ac sorte iudex in reum ductus, tam cupide condemnavit ut ad populum provocanti nihil aeque ac iudicis acerbitas profuerit.

13. Deposita provinciae spe pontificatum maximum petit, non sine profusissima largitione; in qua reputans magnitudinem aeris alieni, cum mane ad comitia descenderet, praedixisse matri osculanti fertur, 'domum se nisi pontificem non reversurum.' Atque ita potentissimos duos competitores multumque et aetate et dignitate antecedentes superavit, ut plura ipse in eorum tribubus suffragia quam uterque in omnibus tulerit.

14. Praetor creatus, detecta coniuratione Catilinae senatuque universo in socios facinoris ultimam statuente poenam, solus municipatim dividendos custodiendosque publicatis bonis censuit. Quin et tantum metum iniecit asperiora suadentibus, identidem ostentans quanta eos in posterum a plebe Romana maneret invidia, ut Decimum Silanum consulem designatum non piguerit sententiam suam, quia mutare turpe erat, interpretatione lenire, velut gravius atque ipse sensisset exceptam. Obtinuisset adeo, transductis iam ad se pluribus et in his Cicerone consulis fratre, nisi labantem ordinem confirmasset M. Catonis oratio.

Ac ne sic quidem impedire rem destitit, quoad manus equitum Romanorum, quae armata praesidii causa circumstabat, inmoderatius perseveranti necem comminata est, etiam strictos gladios usque eo intentans, ut sedentem una proximi deseruerint, vix pauci complexu togaque obiecta protexerint. Tunc plane deterritus non modo cessit, sed et in reliquum anni tempus curia abstinuit.

15. Primo praeturae die Quintum Catulum de refectione Capitoli ad disquisitionem populi vocavit, rogatione promulgata, qua curationem eam in alium transferebat; verum impar optimatium conspirationi, quos relicto statim novorum consulum officio frequentes obstinatosque ad resistendum concucurrisse cernebat, hanc quidem actionem deposuit.

16. Ceterum Caecilio Metello tribuno plebis turbulentissimas leges adversus collegarum intercessionem ferenti auctorem propugnatoremque se pertinacissime praestitit, donec ambo administratione rei publicae decreto patrum submoverentur. Ac nihilo minus permanere in magistratu et ius dicere ausus, ut comperit paratos, qui vi ac per arma prohiberent, dimissis lictoribus abiectaque praetexta domum clam refugit, pro condicione temporum quieturus. Multitudinem quoque biduo post sponte et ultro confluentem operamque sibi in adserenda dignitate tumultuosius pollicentem conpescuit. Quod cum praeter opinionem evenisset, senatus, ob eundem coetum festinato coactus, gratias ei per primores viros egit, accitumque in curiam et amplissimis verbis conlaudatum in integrum restituit, inducto priore decreto.

17. Recidit rursus in discrimen aliud, inter socios Catilinae nominatus et apud Novium Nigrum quaestorem a Lucio Vettio indice et in senatu a Quinto Curio, cui, quod primus consilia coniuratorum detexerat, constituta erant publice praemia. Curius e Catilina se cognovisse dicebat, Vettius etiam chirographum eius, Catilinae datum, pollicebatur. Id vero Caesar nullo modo tolerandum existimans, cum implorato Ciceronis testimonio quaedam se de coniuratione ultro ad eum detulisse docuisset, ne Curio praemia darentur effecit; Vettium pignoribus captis, et direpta supellectile male mulcatum ac pro rostris in contione paene discerptum, coiecit in carcerem; eodem Novium quaestorem, quod compellari apud se maiorem potestatem passus esset.

18. Ex praetura ulteriorem sortitus Hispaniam, retinentes creditores interventu sponsorum removit, ac neque more neque iure, ante quam provinciae ornarentur, profectus est; incertum metune iudicii quod privato parabatur, an quo maturius sociis inplorantibus subveniret; pacataque provincia, pari festinatione, non expectato successore, ad triumphum simul consulatumque decessit. Sed cum, edictis iam comitis, ratio eius haberi non posset nisi privatus introisset urbem, et ambienti ut legibus solveretur multi contradicerent, coactus est triumphum, ne consulatu excluderetur, dimittere.

19. E duobus consulatus competitoribus, Lucio Lucceio Marcoque Bibulo, Lucceium sibi adiunxit, pactus ut is, quoniam inferior gratia esset pecuniaque polleret, nummos de suo, communi nomine,

per centurias pronuntiaret. Qua cognita re optimates, quos metus ceperat nihil non ausurum eum in summo magistratu concordi et consentiente collega, auctores Bibulo fuerunt tantundem pollicendi, ac plerique pecunias contulerunt, ne Catone quidem abnuente eam largitionem e re publica fieri.

Igitur cum Bibulo consul creatur. Eandem ob causam opera ab optimatibus data est, ut provinciae futuris consulibus minimi negotii, id est silvae callesque, decernerentur. Qua maxime iniuria instinctus, omnibus officiis Gnaeum Pompeium adsectatus est, offensum patribus, quod, Mithridate rege victo, cunctantius confirmarentur acta sua; Pompeioque Marcum Crassum reconciliavit, veterem inimicum ex consulatu, quem summa discordia simul gesserant; ac societatem cum utroque iniit, ne quid ageretur in re publica, quod displicuisset ulli e tribus.

20. Inito honore primus omnium instituit, ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta confierent et publicarentur. Antiquum etiam retulit morem, ut quo mense fasces non haberet, accensus ante eum iret, lictores pone sequerentur. Lege autem agraria promulgata, obnuntiantem collegam armis foro expulit, ac postero die in senatu conquestum, nec quoquam reperto qui super tali consternatione referre aut censere aliquid auderet, qualia multa saepe in levioribus turbis decreta erant, in eam coegit desperationem ut, quoad potestate abiret, domo abditus nihil aliud quam per edicta obnuntiaret.

Unus ex eo tempore omnia in re publica et ad

arbitrium administravit, ut nonnulli urbanorum, cum quid per iocum testandi gratia signarent, non Caesare et Bibulo, sed Iulio et Caesare consulibus actum scriberent, bis eundem praeponentes, nomine atque cognomine; utque vulgo mox ferrentur hi versus:

Non Bibulo quicquam nuper sed Caesare factum est:
Nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini.

Campum Stellatem, maioribus consecratum, agrumque Campanum, ad subsidia rei publicae vectigalem relictum, divisit extra sortem ad viginti milibus civium, quibus terni pluresve liberi essent. Publicanos remissionem petentis tertia mercedum parte relevavit, ac, ne in locatione novorum vectigalium inmoderatius licerentur, propalam monuit. Cetera item, quae cuique libuissent, dilargitus est, contradicente nullo, ac, si conaretur quis, absterrito. Marcum Catonem interpellantem extrahi curia per lictorem ducique in carcerem iussit. Lucio Lucullo liberius resistenti tantum calumniarum metum iniecit, ut ad genua ultro sibi accideret. Cicerone in iudicio quodam deplorante temporum statum, Publium Clodium inimicum eius, frustra iam pridem a patribus ad plebem transire nitentem, eodem die horaque nona transduxit. Postremo in universos diversae factionis Vettium induxit praemiis, ut se de inferenda Pompeio nece sollicitatum a quibusdam profiteretur, productusque pro rostris auctores ex conpacto nominaret; sed uno atque altero frustra nec sine suspicione fraudis nominatis, desperans tam praecipitis consilii eventum, intercepisse veneno indicem creditur.

21. Sub idem tempus Calpurniam, L. Pisonis filiam successuri sibi in consulatu, duxit uxorem, suamque Iuliam, Gnaeo Pompeio conlocavit, repudiato priore sponso Servilio Caepione, cuius vel praecipua opera paulo ante Bibulum impugnaverat. Ac post novam adfinitatem Pompeium primum rogare sententiam coepit, cum Crassum soleret, essetque consuetudo, ut quem ordinem interrogandi sententias consul Kal. Ianuariis instituisset, eum toto anno conservaret.

22. Socero igitur generoque suffragantibus, ex omni provinciarum copia Gallias potissimum elegit, cuius emolumento et opportunitate idonea sit materia triumphorum. Et initio quidem Galliam Cisalpinam, Illyrico adiecto, lege Vatinia accepit; mox per senatum Comatam quoque, veritis patribus ne, si ipsi negassent, populus et hanc daret. Quo gaudio elatus non temperavit, quin paucos post dies frequenti curia iactaret, 'invitis et gementibus adversaris adeptum se quae concupisset, proinde ex eo insultaturum omnium capitibus.'

23. Functus consulatu, Gaio Memmio Lucioque Domitio praetoribus de superioris anni actis referentibus, cognitionem senatui detulit; nec illo suscipiente, triduoque per inritas altercationes absumpto, in provinciam abiit; et statim quaestor eius in praeiudicium aliquot criminibus arreptus est. Mox et ipse a Lucio Antistio tribuno plebis postulatus, appellato demum collegio optinuit, cum rei publicae causa abesset reus ne fieret. Ad securitatem ergo posteri temporis in magno negotio habuit obligare semper annuos magistratus, et e petitoribus non alios adiuvare aut ad honorem pati

pervenire, quam qui sibi recepissent propugnaturos absentiam suam; cuius pacti non dubitavit a quibusdam ius iurandum atque etiam syngrapham exigere.

24. Sed cum Lucius Domitius consulatus candidatus palam minaretur, consulem se effecturum quod praetor nequisset ademptur umque ei exercitus, Crassum Pompeiumque in urbem provinciae suae Lucam extractos conpulit, ut detrudendi Domitii causa consulatum alterum peterent, perfecitque per utrumque, ut in quinquennium sibi imperium prorogaretur. Qua fiducia ad legiones, quas a re publica acceperat, alias privato sumptu addidit, unam etiam ex Transalpinis conscriptam, vocabulo quoque Gallico (Alauda enim appellabatur) quam disciplina cultuque Romano institutam et ornatam, postea universam civitate donavit. Nec deinde ulla belli occasione, ne iniusti quidem ac periculosi abstinuit, tam foederatis quam infestis ac feris gentibus ultro lacessitis, adeo ut senatus quondam legatos ad explorandum statum Galliarum mittendos decreverit, ac nonnulli dedendum eum hostibus censuerint. Sed prospere decedentibus rebus, et saepius et plurium quam quisquam umquam dierum supplicationes impetravit.

25. Gessit autem novem annis, quibus in imperio fuit, haec fere. Omnem Galliam, quae saltu Pyrenaeo Alpibusque et monte Gebenna, fluminibus Rheno ac Rhodano continetur, patetque circuitu ad bis et tricies centum milia passuum, praeter socias ac bene meritas civitates, in provinciae formam redegit, eique quadringenties in singulos annos stipendii nomine

imposuit; Germanos, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, primus Romanorum ponte fabricato adgressus, maximis adfecit cladibus; adgressus est et Britannos ignotos antea, superatisque pecunias et obsides imperavit: per tot successus ter, nec amplius, adversum casum expertus: in Britannia classe vi tempestatis prope absumpta, et in Gallia ad Gergoviam legione fusa, et in Germanorum finibus Titurio et Aurunculeio legatis per insidias caesis.

26. Eodem temporis spatio matrem primo, deinde filiam, nec multo post nepotem amisit. Inter quae, consternata Publi Clodi caede re publica, cum senatus unum consulem nominatimque Gnaeum Pompeium fieri censuisset, egit cum tribunis plebis collegam se Pompeio destinantibus, id potius ad populum ferrent ut absenti sibi, quandoque imperii tempus expleri coepisset, petitio secundi consulatus daretur, ne ea causa maturius et inperfecto adhuc bello decederet. Quod ut adeptus est, altiora iam meditans et spei plenus nullum largitionis aut officiorum in quemquam genus publice privatimque omisit. Forum de manubiis inchoavit, cuius area super sestertium milies constitit. Munus populo epulumque pronuntiavit in filiae memoriam, quod ante eum nemo. Quorum ut quam maxima expectatio esset, ea quae ad epulum pertinerent, quamvis macellaris ablocata, etiam domesticatim apparabat. Gladiatores notos, sicubi infestis spectatoribus dimicarent, vi rapiendos reservandosque mandabat. Tirones neque in ludo neque per lanistas, sed in domibus per equites Romanos atque etiam per senatores armorum peritos erudiebat, precibus enitens, quod epistulis eius os-

tenditur, ut disciplinam singulorum susciperent ipsique dictata exercentibus darent. Legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicavit. Frumentum, quotiens copia esset, etiam sine modo mensuraque praebuit, ac singula interdum mancipia e praeda viritim dedit.

27. Ad retinendam autem Pompei necessitudinem ac voluntatem Octaviam sororis suae neptem, quae Gaio Marcello nupta erat, condicionem ei detulit, sibique filiam eius in matrimonium petit, Fausto Sullae destinatam. Omnibus vero circa eum atque etiam parte magna senatus gratuito aut levi foenore obstrictis, ex reliquo quoque ordinum genere vel invitatos vel sponte ad se commeantis uberrimo congiario prosequebatur, libertos insuper servulosque cuiusque, prout domino patronove gratus qui esset. Tum reorum aut obaeratorum aut prodigae iuventutis subsidium unicum ac promptissimum erat, nisi quos gravior criminum vel inopiae luxuriaeve vis urgeret, quam ut subveniri posset a se; his plane palam 'bello civili opus esse' dicebat.

28. Nec minore studio reges atque provincias per terrarum orbem adliciebat, aliis captivorum milia dono offerens, aliis citra senatus populique auctoritatem, quo vellent et quotiens vellent, auxilia submittens, superque Italiae Galliarumque et Hispaniarum, Asiae quoque et Graeciae potentissimas urbes praecipuis operibus exornans; donec, attonitis iam omnibus, et quorsum illa tenderent reputantibus, Marcus Claudius Marcellus consul edicto praefatus, de summa se re publica acturum, rettulit ad senatum, ut ei succederetur ante tempus, quoniam bello confecto pax esset ac dimitti deberet

victor exercitus; et ne absentis ratio comitiis haberetur, quando nec plebi scito Pompeius postea obrogasset. (Acciderat autem, ut is legem de iure magistratuum ferens eo capite, quo petitione honorum absentis submovebat, ne Caesarem quidem exciperet, per oblivionem; ac mox, lege iam in aes incisa et in aerarium condita, corrigeret errorem.) Nec contentus Marcellus provincias Caesari et privilegium eripere, rettulit etiam, ut colonis quos rogatione Vatinia Novum Comum deduxisset, civitas adimeretur, quod per ambitionem et ultra praescriptum data esset.

29. Commotus his Caesar, ac iudicans, quod saepe ex eo auditum ferunt, 'difficilius se principem civitatis a primo ordine in secundum quam ex secundo in novissimum detrudi,' summa ope restitit, partim per intercessores tribunos, partim per Servium Sulpicium alterum consulem. Insequenti quoque anno, Gaio Marcello, qui fratri patrueli suo Marco in consulatu successerat, eadem temptante, collegam eius Aemilium Paulum, Gaiumque Curionem violentissimum tribunorum ingenti mercede defensores paravit. Sed cum obstinatius omnia agi videret et designatos etiam consules e parte diversa, senatum litteris deprecatus est, ne sibi beneficium populi adimeretur, aut ut ceteri quoque imperatores ab exercitibus discederent; confisus, ut putant, facilius se, simul atque libuisset, veteranos convocaturum quam Pompeium novos milites. Cum adversariis autem pepigit, ut, dimissis octo legionibus Transalpinaque Gallia, duae sibi legiones et Cisalpina provincia, vel etiam

una legio cum Illyrico concederetur quoad consul fieret.

30. Verum neque senatu interveniente et adversariis negantibus, ullam se de re publica facturos pactionem, transiit in citeriorem Galliam, conventibusque peractis Ravennae substitit, bello vindicaturus, si quid de tribunis plebis intercedentibus pro se gravius a senatu constitutum esset.

Et praetextum quidem illi civilium armorum hoc fuit; causas autem alias fuisse opinantur. Gnaeus Pompeius ita dictitabat, quod neque opera consummare quae instituerat, neque populi expectationem, quam de adventu suo fecerat, privatis opibus explere posset, turbare omnia ac permiscere voluisse. Alii timuisse dicunt, ne eorum, quae primo consulatu adversus auspicia legesque et intercessiones gessisset, rationem reddere cogeretur; cum M. Cato identidem nec sine iure iurando denuntiaret, delaturum se nomen eius simul ac primum exercitum dimisisset; cumque vulgo fore praedicarent, ut si privatus redisset, Milonis exemplo circumpositis armatis causam apud iudices diceret. Quod probabilius facit Asinius Pollio, Pharsalica acie caesos profligatosque adversarios prospicientem haec eum ad verbum dixisse referens: "Hoc voluerunt; tantis rebus gestis Gaius Caesar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem." Quidam putant captum imperii consuetudine pensitatisque suis et inimicorum viribus, usum occasione rapiendae dominationis, quam aetate prima concupisset. Quod existimasse videbatur et Cicero, scribens de officiis tertio libro semper Caesarem in ore habuisse [est in Phoe-

nissis: *εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, τυραννίδος πέρι κάλλιστον ἀδίκημα· τὰ δ' ἄλλα εὐσεβεῖν χρεών*] Euripidis versus, quos sic ipse convertit:

> Nam si violandum est ius, regnandi gratia
> Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.

31. Cum ergo sublatam tribunorum intercessionem ipsosque urbe cessisse nuntiatum est, praemissis confestim clam cohortibus, ne qua suspicio moveretur, et spectaculo publico per dissimulationem interfuit et formam, qua ludum gladiatorium erat aedificaturus, consideravit et ex consuetudine convivio se frequenti dedit. Dein post solis occasum, mulis e proximo pistrino ad vehiculum iunctis, occultissimum iter modico comitatu ingressus est; et cum luminibus exstinctis decessisset via, diu errabundus, tandem ad lucem duce reperto, per angustissimos tramites pedibus evasit; consecutusque cohortis ad Rubiconem flumen, qui provinciae eius finis erat, paulum constitit, ac reputans quantum moliretur, conversus ad proximos, "Etiam nunc" inquit, "regredi possumus; quod si ponticulum transierimus, omnia armis agenda erunt." Cunctanti ostentum tale factum est.

32. Quidam eximia magnitudine et forma in proximo sedens repente apparuit, harundine canens; ad quem audiendum cum praeter pastores plurimi etiam ex stationibus milites concurrissent interque eos et aeneatores, rapta ab uno tuba prosilivit ad flumen et ingenti spiritu classicum exorsus pertendit ad alteram ripam. Tunc Caesar "Eatur" inquit, "quo deorum ostenta et inimicorum iniquitas vocat. Jacta alea est," inquit.

33. Atque ita traiecto exercitu, adhibitis tribunis plebis qui pulsi supervenerant, pro contione fidem militum flens ac veste a pectore discissa invocavit. Existimatur etiam equestres census pollicitus singulis; quod accidit opinione falsa. Nam cum in adloquendo exhortandoque saepius digitum laevae manus ostentans adfirmaret, se ad satis faciendum omnibus, per quos dignitatem suam defensurus esset, anulum quoque aequo animo detracturum sibi, extrema contio cui facilius erat videre contionantem quam audire, pro dicto accepit quod visu suspicabatur; promissumque ius anulorum cum milibus quadringenis, fama distulit.

34. Ordo et summa rerum, quas deinceps gessit, sic se habent. Picenum, Umbriam, Etruriam occupavit; et Lucio Domitio, qui per tumultum successor ei nominatus Corfinium praesidio tenebat, in dicionem redacto atque dimisso, secundum Superum Mare Brundisium tetendit, quo consules Pompeiusque confugerant, quam primum transfretaturi. Hos frustra per omnis moras exitu prohibere conatus, Romam iter convertit appellatisque de re publica patribus, validissimas Pompei copias, quae sub tribus legatis M. Petreio et L. Afranio et M. Varrone in Hispania erant, invasit, professus ante inter suos, 'ire se ad exercitum sine duce, et inde reversurum ad ducem sine exercitu.' Et quamquam obsidione Massiliae, quae sibi in itinere portas clauserat, summaque frumentariae rei paenuria retardante, brevi tamen omnia subegit. Hinc urbe repetita, in Macedoniam transgressus, Pompeium, per quattuor paene menses maximis obsessum operibus, ad extremum Pharsalico prae-

lio fudit et fugientem Alexandriam persecutus, ut occisum deprehendit, cum Ptolemaeo rege, a quo sibi quoque insidias tendi videbat, bellum sane difficillimum gessit, neque loco neque tempore aequo, sed hieme anni et intra moenia copiosissimi ac sollertissimi hostis, inops ipse omnium rerum atque inparatus.

35. Regnum Aegypti victor Cleopatrae fratrique eius minori permisit, veritus provinciam facere, ne quandoque violentiorem praesidem nacta novarum rerum materia esset. Ab Alexandria in Syriam et inde Pontum transiit, urgentibus de Pharnace nuntiis, quem Mithridatis Magni filium ac tunc occasione temporum bellantem iamque multiplici successu praeferocem, intra quintum quam adfuerat diem, quattuor quibus in conspectum venit horis, una profligavit acie; crebro commemorans Pompei felicitatem, cui praecipua militiae laus de tam inbelli genere hostium contigisset. Dehinc Scipionem ac Iubam reliquias partium in Africa refoventis devicit, Pompei liberos in Hispania.

36. Omnibus civilibus bellis nullam cladem nisi per legatos suos passus est, quorum C. Curio in Africa periit, C. Antonius in Illyrico in adversariorum devenit potestatem, P. Dolabella classem in eodem Illyrico, Cn. Domitius Calvinus in Ponto exercitum amiserunt. Ipse prosperrime semper ac ne ancipiti quidem umquam fortuna, praeterquam bis, dimicavit: semel ad Dyrrachium, ubi pulsus, non instante Pompeio, negavit eum vincere scire, iterum in Hispania ultimo proelio cum desperatis rebus etiam de consciscenda nece cogitavit.

37. Confectis bellis quinquiens triumphavit, post

devictum Scipionem quater eodem mense, sed interiectis diebus, et rursus semel post superatos Pompei liberos. Primum et excellentissimum triumphum egit Gallicum, sequentem Alexandrinum, deinde Ponticum, huic proximum Africanum, novissimum Hispaniensem, diverso quemque apparatu et instrumento. Gallici triumphi die Velabrum praetervehens paene curru excussus est, axe diffracto, ascenditque Capitolium ad lumina, quadraginta elephantis dextra atque sinistra lychnuchos gestantibus. Pontico triumpho inter pompae fercula trium verborum praetulit titulum VENI, VIDI, VICI non acta belli significantem, sicut ceteris, sed celeriter confecti notam.

38. Veteranis legionibus praedae nomine in pedites singulos super bina sestertia, quae initio civilis tumultus numeraverat, vicena quaterna milia nummum dedit. Adsignavit et agros, sed non continuos, ne quis possessorum expelleretur. Populo praeter frumenti denos modios ac totidem olei libras trecenos quoque nummos quos pollicitus olim erat, viritim divisit, et hoc amplius centenos pro mora. Annuam etiam habitationem Romæ usque ad bina milia nummum, in Italia non ultra quingenos sestertios remisit. Adiecit epulum ac viscerationem, et post Hispaniensem victoriam duo prandia; nam cum prius parce neque pro liberalitate sua praebitum iudicaret, quinto post die aliud largissimum praebuit.

39. Edidit spectacula varii generis: munus gladiatorium, ludos etiam regionatim urbe tota et quidem per omnium linguarum histriones, item circenses, athletas, naumachiam. Munere in foro

depugnavit Furius Leptinus stirpe praetoria et Q. Calpenus, senator quondam actorque causarum. Pyrricham saltaverunt Asiae Bithyniaeque principum liberi. Ludis Decimus Laberius eques Romanus mimum suum egit, donatusque quingentis sestertiis et anulo aureo, sessum in quattuordecim e scaena per orchestram transiit. Circensibus, spatio circi ab utraque parte producto et in gyrum euripo addito, quadrigas bigasque et equos desultorios agitaverunt nobilissimi iuvenes. Troiam lusit turma duplex, maiorum minorumque puerorum. Venationes editae per dies quinque, ac novissime pugna divisa in duas acies, quingenis peditibus, elephantis vicenis, tricenis equitibus hinc et inde commissis. Nam quo laxius dimicaretur, sublatae metae inque earum locum bina castra exadversum constituta erant. Athletae, stadio ad tempus exstructo regione Marti campi, certaverunt per triduum. Navali proelio, in minore Codeta defosso lacu biremes ac triremes quadriremesque Tyriae et Aegyptiae classis magno pugnatorum numero conflixerunt. Ad quae omnia spectacula tantum undique confluxit hominum ut plerique advenae aut inter vicos aut inter vias tabernaculis positis manerent; ac saepe prae turba elisi exanimatique sint plurimi et in his duo senatores.

40. Conversus hinc ad ordinandum rei publicae statum, fastos correxit, iam pridem vitio pontificum per intercalandi licentiam adeo turbatos, ut neque messium feriae aestate neque vindemiarum autumno conpeterent; annumque ad cursum solis accommodavit ut trecentorum sexaginta quinque dierum esset, et intercalario mense sublato unus

dies quarto quoque anno intercalaretur. Quo autem magis in posterum ex Kalendis Ianuariis novis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Novembrem ac Decembrem mensem interiecit duos alios: fuitque is annus, quo haec constituebantur, quindecim mensium cum intercalario, qui ex consuetudine in eum annum inciderat.

41. Senatum supplevit, patricios adlegit, praetorum aedilium quaestorum, minorum etiam magistratuum numerum ampliavit; nudatos opere censorio aut sententia iudicum de ambitu condemnatos restituit. Comitia cum populo partitus est ut, exceptis consulatus conpetitoribus, de cetero numero candidatorum pro parte dimidia quos populus vellet pronuntiarentur, pro parte altera quos ipse edidisset. Et edebat per libellos circum tribum missos scriptura brevi: "Caesar dictator illi tribui. Commendo vobis illum et illum, ut vestro suffragio suam dignitatem teneant." Admisit ad honores et proscriptorum liberos. Iudicia ad duo genera iudicum redegit, equestris ordinis ac senatorii; tribunos aerarios, quod erat tertium, sustulit.

Recensum populi nec more nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit, atque ex viginti trecentisque milibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit; ac ne qui novi coetus recensionis causa moveri quandoque possent, instituit, quot annis in demortuorum locum ex iis, qui recensi non essent, subsortitio a praetore fieret.

42. Octoginta autem civium milibus in transmarinas colonias distributis, ut exhaustae quoque urbis frequentia suppeteret, sanxit ne quis civis

maior annis viginti minorve quadraginta, qui sacramento non teneretur, plus triennio continuo Italia abesset; neu qui senatoris filius nisi contubernalis aut comes magistratus peregre proficisceretur; neve ii, qui pecuariam facerent, minus tertia parte puberum ingenuorum inter pastores haberent. Omnisque medicinam Romae professos et liberalium artium doctores, quo libentius et ipsi urbem incolerent et ceteri adpeterent, civitate donavit. De pecuniis mutuis, disiecta novarum tabularum exspectatione, quae crebro movebatur, decrevit tandem, ut debitores creditoribus satis facerent per aestimationem possessionum, quanti quasque ante civile bellum comparassent, deducto summae aeris alieni, si quid usurae nomine numeratum aut perscriptum fuisset; qua condicione quarta pars fere crediti deperibat. Cuncta collegia, praeter antiquitus constituta, distraxit. Poenas facinorum auxit; et cum locupletes eo facilius scelere se obligarent, quod integris patrimoniis exsulabant, parricidas, ut Cicero scribit, bonis omnibus, reliquos dimidia parte multavit.

43. Ius laboriosissime ac severissime dixit. Repetundarum convictos etiam ordine senatorio movit. Diremit nuptias praetorii viri, qui digressam a marito post biduum statim duxerat, quamvis sine probri suspicione. Peregrinarum mercium portoria instituit. Lecticarum usum, item conchyliatae vestis et margaritarum, nisi certis personis et aetatibus perque certos dies, ademit. Legem praecipue sumptuariam exercuit, dispositis circa macellum custodibus, qui obsonia contra vetitum retinerent deportarentque ad se, submissis non-

nunquam lictoribus atque militibus qui, si qua custodes fefellissent, iam adposita e triclinio auferrent.

44. Nam de ornanda instruendaque urbe, item de tuendo ampliandoque imperio plura ac maiora in dies destinabat: in primis Martis templum, quantum nusquam esset, extruere, repleto et conplanato lacu, in quo naumachiae spectaculum ediderat, theatrumque summae magnitudinis Tarpeio monti accubans; ius civile ad certum modum redigere, atque ex immensa diffusaque legum copia optima quaeque et necessaria in paucissimos conferre libros; bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare, data Marco Varroni cura comparandarum ac digerendarum; siccare Pomptinas paludes; emittere Fucinum lacum; viam munire a mari Supero per Appennini dorsum ad Tiberim usque; perfodere Isthmum; Dacos, qui se in Pontum et Thraciam effuderant, coercere; mox Parthis inferre bellum per Armeniam minorem, nec nisi ante expertos adgredi proelio.

Talia agentem atque meditantem mors praevenit. De qua prius quam dicam, ea quae ad formam et habitum et cultum et mores, nec minus quae ad civilia et bellica eius studia pertineant non alienum erit summatim exponere.

45. Fuisse traditur excelsa statura, colore candido, teretibus membris, ore paulo pleniore, nigris vegetisque oculis, valitudine prospera; nisi quod tempore extremo repente animo linqui atque etiam per somnum exterreri solebat. Comitiali quoque morbo bis inter res agendas correptus est. Circa corporis curam morosior, ut non solum ton-

deretur diligenter ac raderetur, sed velleretur etiam, ut quidam exprobraverunt; calvitii vero deformitatem iniquissime ferret, saepe obtrectatorum iocis obnoxiam expertus. Ideoque et deficientem capillum revocare a vertice adsueverat, et ex omnibus decretis sibi a senatu populoque honoribus non aliud aut recepit aut usurpavit libentius quam ius laureae coronae perpetuo gestandae.

Etiam cultu notabilem ferunt; usum enim lato clavo ad manus fimbriato, nec ut umquam aliter quam super eum cingeretur, et quidem fluxiore cinctura; unde emanasse Sullae dictum optimates saepius admonentis, 'ut male praecinctum puerum caverent.'

46. Habitavit primo in Subura modicis aedibus; post autem pontificatum maximum in Sacra Via domo publica. Munditiarum lautitiarumque studiosissimum multi prodiderunt: villam in Nemorensi a fundamentis inchoatam magnoque sumptu absolutam, quia non tota ad animum ei responderat, totam diruisse, quamquam tenuem adhuc et obaeratum; in expeditionibus tessellata et sectilia pavimenta circumtulisse;

47. Britanniam petisse spe margaritarum quarum amplitudinem conferentem interdum sua manu exegisse pondus; gemmas, toreumata, signa, tabulas operis antiqui semper animosissime comparasse; servitia rectiora politioraque inmenso pretio, et cuius ipsum etiam puderet, sic ut rationibus vetaret inferri.

48. Convivatum assidue per provincias duobus tricliniis, uno quo sagati palliative, altero quo togati cum inlustrioribus provinciarum discumbe-

rent. Domesticam disciplinam in parvis ac maioribus rebus diligenter adeo severeque rexit ut pistorem, alium quam sibi panem convivis subicientem, compedibus vinxerit; libertum gratissimum, ob adulteratam equitis Romani uxorem, quamvis nullo querente, capitali poena adfecerit.

50. Pronum et sumptuosum in libidines fuisse constans opinio est, plurimasque et inlustres feminas corrupisse, in quibus Postumiam Servi Sulpicii, Lolliam Auli Gabini, Tertullam Marci Crassi, etiam Cn. Pompei Muciam. Nam certe Pompeio et a Curionibus patre et filio et a multis exprobratum est, quod cuius causa post tres liberos exegisset uxorem et quem gemens Aegisthum appellare consuesset, eius postea filiam potentiae cupiditate in matrimonium recepisset. Sed ante alias dilexit Marci Bruti matrem Serviliam, cui et primo suo consulatu sexagiens sestertio margaritam mercatus est et bello civili super alias donationes amplissima praedia ex auctionibus hastae minimo addixit; cum quidem, plerisque vilitatem mirantibus, facetissime Cicero "Quo melius," inquit, "emptum sciatis, Tertia deducta;" existimabatur enim Servilia etiam filiam suam Tertiam Caesari conciliare.

51. Ne provincialibus quidem matrimoniis abstinuisse, vel hoc disticho apparet iactato aeque a militibus per Gallicum triumphum:

> Urbani, servate uxores, moechum calvom adducimus.
> Aurum in Gallia effutuisti, hic sumpsisti mutuum.

52. Dilexit et reginas, inter quas Eunoen Mauram Bogudis uxorem, cui maritoque eius plurima et immensa tribuit, ut Naso scripsit, sed maxime

Cleopatram, cum qua et convivia in primam lucem saepe protraxit et eadem nave thalamego paene Aethiopia tenus Aegyptum penetravit, nisi exercitus sequi recusasset, quam denique accitam in urbem nonnisi maximis honoribus praemisque auctam remisit, filiumque natum appellare nomine suo passus est. Quem quidem nonnulli Graecorum similem quoque Caesari et forma et incessu tradiderunt. M. Antonius adgnitum etiam ab eo senatui adfirmavit, quae scire C. Matium et C. Oppium reliquosque Caesaris amicos; quorum Gaius Oppius, quasi plane defensione ac patrocinio res egeret, librum edidit, non esse Caesaris filium, quem Cleopatra dicat. Helvius Cinna tribunus plebis plerisque confessus est habuisse se scriptam paratamque legem, quam Caesar ferre iussisset cum ipse abesset, uti uxores liberorum quaerendorum causa quas et quot vellet ducere liceret. Ac ne cui dubium omnino sit, et impudicitiae et adulteriorum flagrasse infamia, Curio pater quadam eum oratione omnium mulierum virum appellat.

53. Vini parcissimum ne inimici quidem negaverunt. Marci Catonis est, 'unum ex omnibus Caesarem ad evertendam rem publicam sobrium accessisse.' Nam circa victum Gaius Oppius adeo indifferentem docet, ut quondam ab hospite conditum oleum pro viridi adpositum, aspernantibus ceteris, solum etiam largius appetisse scribat, ne hospitem aut neglegentiae aut rusticitatis videretur arguere.

54. Abstinentiam neque in imperiis neque in magistratibus praestitit. Ut enim quidam monumentis suis testati sunt, in Hispania proconsule et a

sociis pecunias accepit emendicatas in auxilium aeris alieni et Lusitanorum quaedam oppida, quamquam nec imperata detrectarent et advenienti portas patefacerent, diripuit hostiliter. In Gallia fana templaque deum donis referta expilavit, urbes diruit saepius ob praedam quam ob delictum; unde factum ut auro abundaret ternisque milibus nummûm in libras promercale per Italiam provinciasque divenderet. In primo consulatu tria milia pondo auri furatus e Capitolio, tantundem inaurati aeris reposuit. Societates ac regna pretio dedit, ut qui uni Ptolemaeo prope sex milia talentorum suo Pompeique nomine abstulerit. Postea vero evidentissimis rapinis ac sacrilegis et onera bellorum civilium et triumphorum ac munerum sustinuit impendia.

55. Eloquentia militarique re aut aequavit praestantissimorum gloriam aut excessit. Post accusationem Dolabellae haud dubie principibus patronis adnumeratus est. Certe Cicero ad Brutum, oratores enumerans, negat se videre, cui debeat Caesar cedere, aitque eum elegantem, splendidam quoque atque etiam magnificam et generosam quodam modo rationem dicendi tenere, et ad Cornelium Nepotem de eodem ita scripsit: "Quid? oratorum quem huic antepones eorum, qui nihil aliud egerunt? quis sententiis aut acutior aut crebrior? quis verbis aut ornatior aut elegantior?" Genus eloquentiae dum taxat adulescens adhuc Strabonis Caesaris secutus videtur, cuius etiam ex oratione, quae inscribitur *Pro Sardis*, ad verbum nonnulla transtulit in divinationem suam. Pronuntiasse autem dicitur voce acuta, ardenti motu

gestuque, non sine venustate. Orationes aliquas reliquit, inter quas temere quaedam feruntur. *Pro Quinto Metello* non inmerito Augustus existimat magis ab actuaris exceptam male subsequentibus verba dicentis, quam ab ipso editam; nam in quibusdam exemplaribus invenio ne inscriptam quidem *Pro Metello*, sed *Quam Scripsit Metello*, cum ex persona Caesaris sermo sit Metellum seque adversus communium obtrectatorum criminationes purgantis. *Apud Milites* quoque *in Hispania* idem Augustus vix ipsius putat, quae tamen duplex fertur: una quasi priore habita proelio, altera posteriore, quo Asinius Pollio ne tempus quidem contionandi habuisse eum dicit subita hostium incursione.

56. Reliquit et rerum suarum commentarios Gallici civilisque belli Pompeiani. Nam Alexandrini Africique et Hispaniensis incertus auctor est: alii Oppium putant, alii Hirtium qui etiam Gallici belli novissimum imperfectumque librum suppleverit. De commentariis Caesaris Cicero in eodem Bruto sic refert: "Commentarios scripsit valde quidem probandos: nudi sunt, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tamquam veste detracta; sed dum voluit alios habere parata, unde sumerent qui vellent scribere historiam, ineptis gratum fortasse fecit qui illa volent calamistris inurere, sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit." De isdem commentariis Hirtius ita praedicat: "Adeo probantur omnium iudicio, ut praerepta, non praebita facultas scriptoribus videatur. Cuius tamen rei maior nostra quam reliquorum est admiratio; ceteri enim, quam bene atque emendate, nos

etiam, quam facile atque celeriter eos perscripserit, scimus." Pollio Asinius parum diligenter parumque integra veritate compositos putat, cum Caesar pleraque et quae per alios erant gesta temere crediderit, et quae per se, vel consulto vel etiam memoria lapsus perperam ediderit; existimatque rescripturum et correcturum fuisse. Reliquit et *De Analogia* duos libros et *Anticatones* totidem, ac praeterea poema quod inscribitur *Iter*. Quorum librorum primos in transitu Alpium, cum ex citeriore Gallia conventibus peractis ad exercitum rediret, sequentes sub tempus Mundensis proelii fecit; novissimum, dum ab urbe in Hispaniam ulteriorem quarto et vicensimo die pervenit. Epistulae quoque eius ad senatum exstant, quas primus videtur ad paginas et formam memorialis libelli convertisse, cum antea consules et duces nonnisi transversa charta scriptas mitterent. Exstant et ad Ciceronem, item ad familiares domesticis de rebus, in quibus, si qua occultius perferenda erant, per notas scripsit, id est sic structo litterarum ordine, ut nullum verbum effici posset: quae si quis investigare et persequi volet, quartam elementorum litteram, id est D pro A et perinde reliquas commutet. Feruntur et a puero et ab adulescentulo quaedam scripta, ut *Laudes Herculis*, tragoedia *Oedipus*, item *Dicta Collectanea:* quos omnis libellos vetuit Augustus publicari, in epistula quam brevem admodum ac simplicem ad Pompeium Macrum, cui ordinandas bibliothecas delegaverat, misit.

57. Armorum et equitandi peritissimus, laboris ultra fidem patiens erat. In agmine nonnunquam equo, saepius pedibus anteibat, capite detecto, seu

sol seu imber esset; longissimas vias incredibili celeritate confecit, expeditus, meritoria reda, centena passuum milia in singulos dies; si flumina morarentur, nando traiciens vel innixus inflatis utribus, ut persaepe nuntios de se praevenerit.

58. In obeundis expeditionibus dubium cautior an audentior, exercitum neque per insidiosa itinera duxit umquam nisi perspeculatus locorum situs, neque in Britanniam transvexit, nisi ante per se portus et navigationem et accessum ad insulam explorasset. At idem, obsessione castrorum in Germania nuntiata, per stationes hostium Gallico habitu penetravit ad suos. A Brundisio Dyrrachium inter oppositas classes hieme transmisit cessantibus que copiis, quas subsequi iusserat, cum ad accersendas frustra saepe misisset, novissime ipse clam noctu parvulum navigium solus obvoluto capite conscendit, neque aut quis esset ante detexit aut gubernatorem cedere adversae tempestati passus est, quam paene obrutus fluctibus.

59. Ne religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus umquam vel retardatus est. Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia, profectionem adversus Scipionem et Iubam non distulit. Prolapsus etiam in egressu navis, verso ad melius omine "Teneo te," inquit, "Africa." Ad eludendas autem vaticinationes, quibus felix et invictum in ea provincia fataliter Scipionum nomen ferebatur, despectissimum quendam ex Corneliorum genere, cui ad opprobrium vitae Salvitoni cognomen erat, in castris secum habuit.

60. Proelia non tantum destinato, sed ex occasione sumebat ac saepe ab itinere statim, interdum

spurcissimis tempestatibus, cum minime quis moturum putaret; nec nisi tempore extremo ad dimicandum cunctatior factus est, quo saepius vicisset, hoc minus experiendos casus opinans, nihilque se tantum adquisiturum victoria, quantum [auferre calamitas posset. Nullum umquam] hostem fudit, quin castris quoque exueret: ita nullum spatium perterritis dabat. Ancipiti proelio equos dimittebat et in primis suum, quo maior permanendi necessitas imponeretur auxilio fugae erepto.

61. Utebatur autem equo insigni, pedibus prope humanis et in modum digitorum ungulis fissis, quem natum apud se, cum haruspices imperium orbis terrae significare domino pronuntiassent, magna cura aluit nec patientem sessoris alterius primus ascendit; cuius etiam instar pro aede Veneris Genetricis postea dedicavit.

62. Inclinatam aciem solus saepe restituit obsistens fugientibus retinensque singulos et contortis faucibus convertens in hostem et quidem adeo plerumque trepidos, ut aquilifer moranti se cuspide sit comminatus, alius in manu detinentis reliquerit signum.

63. Non minora illa constantiae eius, immo maiora etiam indicia fuerint. Post aciem Pharsalicam cum praemissis in Asiam copiis per angustias Hellesponti vectoria navicula traiceret, L. Cassium partis adversae cum decem rostratis navibus obvium sibi neque refugit et comminus tendens, ultro ad deditionem hortatus, supplicem ad se recepit.

64. Alexandriae, circa oppugnationem pontis eruptione hostium subita conpulsus in scapham,

pluribus eodem praecipitantibus, cum desilisset in mare, nando per ducentos passus evasit ad proximam navem, elata laeva ne libelli quos tenebat madefierent, paludamentum mordicus trahens ne spolio poteretur hostis.

65. Militem neque a moribus neque a forma probabat, sed tantum a viribus, tractabatque pari severitate atque indulgentia. Non enim ubique ac semper, sed cum hostis in proximo esset, coercebat: tum maxime exactor gravissimus disciplinae, ut neque itineris neque proelii tempus denuntiaret, sed paratum et intentum momentis omnibus quo vellet subito educeret. Quod etiam sine causa plerumque faciebat, praecipue pluviis et festis diebus. Ac subinde, observandum se admonens, repente interdiu vel nocte se subtrahebat augebatque iter, ut serius subsequentis defetigaret.

66. Fama vero hostilium copiarum perterritos non negando minuendove, sed insuper amplificando ementiendoque confirmabat. Itaque cum expectatio adventus Iubae terribilis esset, convocatis ad contionem militibus "Scitote," inquit, "paucissimis his diebus regem adfuturum cum decem legionibus, equitum triginta, levis armaturae centum milibus, elephantis trecentis. Proinde desinant quidam quaerere ultra aut opinari, mihique, qui compertum habeo, credant; aut quidem vetustissima nave impositos, quocumque vento in quascumque terras iubebo avehi."

67. Delicta neque observabat omnia neque pro modo exsequebatur, sed desertorum ac seditiosorum et inquisitor et punitor acerrimus, conivebat in ceteris. Ac nonnumquam post magnam pug-

nam atque victoriam, remisso officiorum munere, licentiam omnem passim lasciviendi permittebat, iactare solitus, 'milites suos etiam unguentatos bene pugnare posse.' Nec milites eos pro contione, sed blandiore nomine 'commilitones' appellabat, habebatque tam cultos ut argento et auro politis armis ornaret, simul et ad speciem et quo tenaciores eorum in proelio essent metu damni. Diligebat quoque usque adeo ut, audita clade Tituriana, barbam capillumque summiserit nec ante dempserit quam vindicasset.

68. Quibus rebus et devotissimos sibi et fortissimos reddidit. Ingresso civile bellum centuriones cuiusque legionis singulos equites e viatico suo optulerunt, universi milites gratuitam et sine frumento stipendioque operam; cum tenuiorum tutelam locupletiores in se contulissent. Neque in tam diuturno spatio quisquam omnino descivit, plerique capti concessam sibi sub condicione vitam, si militare adversus eum vellent, recusarunt; famem et ceteras necessitates, non cum obsiderentur modo sed et si ipsi alios obsiderent, tantopere tolerabant ut Dyrrachina munitione Pompeius viso genere panis ex herba, quo sustinebantur, 'cum feris sibi rem esse' dixerit, amoverique ocius nec cuiquam ostendi iusserit, ne patientia et pertinacia hostis animi suorum frangerentur.

Quanta fortitudine dimicarint, testimonio est quod adverso semel apud Dyrrachium proelio poenam in se ultro depoposcerunt, ut consolandos eos magis imperator quam puniendos habuerit. Ceteris proeliis innumeras adversariorum copias, multis partibus ipsi pauciores, facile superarunt. Deni-

que una sextae legionis cohors praeposita castello quattuor Pompei legiones per aliquot horas sustinuit, paene omnis confixa multitudine hostilium sagittarum quarum centum ac triginta milia intra vallum reperta sunt. Nec mirum, si quis singulorum facta respiciat, vel Cassi Scaevae centurionis vel Gai Acili militis, ne de pluribus referam. Scaeva, excusso oculo, transfixus femore et humero, centum et viginti ictibus scuto perforato, custodiam portae commissi castelli retinuit. Acilius navali ad Massiliam proelio, iniecta in puppem hostium dextera et abscisa, memorabile illud apud Graecos Cynaegiri exemplum imitatus, transiluit in navem, umbone obvios agens.

69. Seditionem per decem annos Gallicis bellis nullam omnino moverunt, civilibus aliquas, sed ut celeriter ad officium redierint, nec tam indulgentia ducis quam auctoritate. Non enim cessit umquam tumultuantibus atque etiam obviam semper iit; et nonam quidem legionem apud Placentiam, quamquam in armis adhuc Pompeius esset, totam cum ignominia missam fecit aegreque post multas et supplicis preces, nec nisi exacta de sontibus poena, restituit.

70. Decimanos autem Romae cum ingentibus minis summoque etiam urbis periculo missionem et praemia flagitantes, ardente tunc in Africa bello, neque adire cunctatus est, quamquam deterrentibus amicis, neque dimittere; sed una voce, qua 'Quirites' eos pro militibus appellarat, tam facile circumegit et flexit, ut ei milites esse confestim responderint et quamvis recusantem ultro in Africam sint secuti; ac sic quoque seditiosissimum

quemque et praedae et agri destinati tertia parte multavit.

71. Studium et fides erga clientis ne iuveni quidem defuerunt. Masintham nobilem iuvenem, cum adversus Hiempsalem regem tam enixe defendisset ut Iubae regis filio in altercatione barbam invaserit, stipendiarium quoque pronuntiatum, et abstrahentibus statim eripuit occultavitque apud se diu et mox, ex praetura proficiscens in Hispaniam, inter officia prosequentium fascesque lictorum lectica sua avexit.

72. Amicos tanta semper facilitate indulgentiaque tractavit ut Gaio Oppio comitanti se per silvestre iter correptoque subita valitudine deversoriolo eo, quod unum erat, cesserit et ipse humi ac sub divo cubuerit. Iam autem rerum potens quosdam etiam infimi generis ad amplissimos honores provexit, cum ob id culparetur, professus palam, 'si grassatorum et sicariorum ope in tuenda sua dignitate usus esset, talibus quoque se parem gratiam relaturum.'

73. Simultates contra nullos tam graves excepit unquam ut non occasione oblata libens deponeret. Gai Memmi, cuius asperrimis orationibus non minore acerbitate rescripserat, etiam suffragator mox in petitione consulatus fuit. Gaio Calvo post famosa epigrammata de reconciliatione per amicos agenti ultro ac prior scripsit. Valerium Catullum, a quo sibi versiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulaverat, satis facientem eadem die adhibuit cenae hospitioque patris eius, sicut consuerat, uti perseveravit.

74. Sed et in ulciscendo natura lenissimus, pira-

tas, a quibus captus est, cum in dicionem redegisset, quoniam suffixurum se cruci ante iuraverat, iugulari prius iussit, deinde suffigi; Cornelio Phagitae, cuius quondam nocturnas insidias aeger ac latens, ne perduceretur ad Sullam, vix praemio dato evaserat, numquam nocere sustinuit; Philemonem a manu servum, qui necem suam per venenum inimicis promiserat, non gravius quam simplici morte puniit; in Publium Clodium, Pompeiae uxoris suae adulterum atque eadem de causa pollutarum caerimoniarum reum, testis citatus, negavit se quicquam comperisse, quamvis et mater Aurelia et soror Iulia apud eosdem iudices omnia ex fide retulissent; interrogatusque, cur igitur repudiasset uxorem, "Quoniam," inquit, "meos tam suspicione quam crimine iudico carere oportere."

75. Moderationem vero clementiamque cum in administratione tum in victoria belli civilis admirabilem exhibuit. Denuntiante Pompeio, pro hostibus se habiturum qui rei publicae defuissent, ipse medios et neutrius partis suorum sibi numero futuros pronuntiavit. Quibus autem ex commendatione Pompei ordines dederat, potestatem transeundi ad eum omnibus fecit. Motis apud Ilerdam deditionis condicionibus, cum, assiduo inter utrasque partes usu atque commercio, Afranius et Petreius deprehensos intra castra Iulianos subita paenitentia interfecissent, admissam in se perfidiam non sustinuit imitari. Acie Pharsalica proclamavit ut civibus parceretur, deincepsque nemini non suorum quem vellet unum partis adversae servare concessit. Nec ulli perisse nisi in proelio reperientur, exceptis dum taxat Afranio et Fausto et

Lucio Caesare iuvene; ac ne hos quidem voluntate ipsius interemptos putant, quorum tamen et priores post impetratam veniam rebellaverant et Caesar, libertis servisque eius ferro et igni crudelem in modum enectis, bestias quoque ad munus populi comparatas contrucidaverat. Denique tempore extremo etiam quibus nondum ignoverat cunctis in Italiam redire permisit magistratusque et imperia capere; sed et statuas Luci Sullae atque Pompei a plebe disiectas reposuit; ac si qua posthac aut cogitarentur gravius adversus se aut dicerentur, inhibere maluit quam vindicare. Itaque et detectas coniurationes conventusque nocturnos non ultra arguit, quam ut edicto ostenderet esse sibi notas, et acerbe loquentibus satis habuit pro contione denuntiare ne perseverarent, Aulique Caecinae criminosissimo libro et Pitholai carminibus maledicentissimis laceratam existimationem suam civili animo tulit.

76. Praegravant tamen cetera facta dictaque eius ut et abusus dominatione et iure caesus existimetur. Non enim honores modo nimios recepit: continuum consulatum, perpetuam dictaturam, praefecturamque morum, insuper praenomen Imperatoris, cognomen Patris Patriae, statuam inter reges, suggestum in orchestra; sed et ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est: sedem auream in curia et pro tribunali, tensam et ferculum circensi pompa, templa, aras, simulacra iuxta deos, pulvinar, flaminem, lupercos, appellationem mensis e suo nomine; ac nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit et dedit. Tertium et quartum consulatum titulo tenus gessit, contentus dictatu-

rae potestate decretae cum consulatibus simul, atque utroque anno binos consules substituit sibi in ternos novissimos menses, ita ut medio tempore comitia nulla habuerit praeter tribunorum et aedilium plebis, praefectosque pro praetoribus constituerit, qui apsente se res urbanas administrarent. Pridie autem Kalendas Ianuarias repentina consulis morte cessantem honorem in paucas horas petenti dedit. Eadem licentia spreto patrio more, magistratus in pluris annos ordinavit, decem praetoris viris consularia ornamenta tribuit, civitate donatos, et quosdam e semibarbaris Gallorum, recepit in curiam. Praeterea monetae publicisque vectigalibus peculiares servos praeposuit. Trium legionum, quas Alexandreae relinquebat, curam et imperium Rufini liberti sui filio demandavit.

77. Nec minoris inpotentiae voces propalam edebat, ut Titus Ampius scribit, 'Nihil esse rem publicam, appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie. Sullam nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit. Debere homines consideratius iam loqui secum, ac pro legibus habere quae dicat.' Eoque arrogantiae progressus est ut, haruspice tristia et sine corde exta quondam nuntiante, 'futura' diceret 'laetiora, cum vellet; nec pro ostento ducendum, si pecudi cor defuisset.'

78. Verum praecipuam et exitiabilem sibi invidiam hinc maxime movit. Adeuntis se cum plurimis honorificentissimisque decretis universos patres conscriptos sedens pro aede Veneris Genetricis excepit. Quidam putant retentum a Cornelio Balbo, cum conaretur assurgere: alii, ne conatum quidem omnino, sed etiam admonentem Gaium Tre-

batium ut assurgeret minus familiari vultu respexisse. Idque factum eius tanto intolerabilius est visum, quod ipse triumphanti et subsellia tribunicia praetervehenti sibi unum e collegio Pontium Aquilam non assurrexisse adeo indignatus sit, ut proclamaverit: "Repete ergo a me Aquila rem publicam tribunus!" et nec destiterit per continuos dies quicquam cuiquam nisi sub exceptione polliceri, 'si tamen per Pontium Aquilam licuerit.'

79. Adiecit ad tam insignem despecti senatus contumeliam multo arrogantius factum. Nam cum in sacrificio Latinarum revertente eo inter immodicas ac novas populi acclamationes quidam e turba statuae eius coronam lauream candida fascia praeligata inposuisset, et tribuni plebis Epidius Marullus Caesetiusque Flavus coronae fasciam detrahi hominemque duci in vincula iussissent; dolens seu parum prospere motam regni mentionem, sive ut ferebat, ereptam sibi gloriam recusandi, tribunos graviter increpitos potestate privavit. Neque ex eo infamiam affectati etiam regii nominis discutere valuit, quamquam et plebei regem se salutanti, 'Caesarem se, non regem esse' responderit; et Lupercalibus pro rostris a consule Antonio admotum saepius capiti suo diadema reppulerit atque in Capitolium Iovi Optimo Maximo miserit. Quin etiam varia fama percrebruit migraturum Alexandream vel Ilium, translatis simul opibus imperii exhaustaque Italia dilectibus et procuratione urbis amicis permissa, proximo autem senatu Lucium Cottam quindecimvirum sententiam dicturum, ut, quoniam libris fatalibus contineretur,

Parthos nisi a rege non posse vinci, Caesar rex appellaretur.

80. Quae causa coniuratis maturandi fuit destinata negotia, ne assentiri necesse esset.

Consilia igitur, dispersim antea habita et quae saepe bini ternive ceperant, in unum omnes contulerunt, ne populo quidem iam praesenti statu laeto, sed clam palamque detrectante dominationem atque assertores flagitante. Peregrinis in senatum allectis, libellus propositus est: "Bonum factum: ne quis senatori novo curiam monstrare velit!" et illa vulgo canebantur:

> Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit, idem in curiam.
> Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt.

Quinto Maximo suffecto trimenstrique consule theatrum introeunte, cum lictor animadverti ex more iussisset, ab universis conclamatum est non esse eum consulem. Post remotos Caesetium et Marullum tribunos reperta sunt proximis comitiis complura suffragia consules eos declarantium. Subscripsere quidam Luci Bruti statuae: "Utinam viveres!" item ipsius Caesaris:

> Brutus, quia reges eiecit, consul primus factus est:
> Hic, quia consules eiecit, rex postremo factus est.

Conspiratum est in eum a sexaginta amplius, Gaio Cassio Marcoque et Decimo Bruto principibus conspirationis. Qui primum cunctati, utrumne in Campo per comitia tribus ad suffragia vocantem partibus divisis e ponte deicerent atque exceptum trucidarent, an in Sacra Via vel in aditu theatri adorirentur: postquam senatus Idibus Martiis in

Pompei curiam edictus est, facile tempus et locum praetulerunt.

81. Sed Caesari futura caedes evidentibus prodigiis denuntiata est. Paucos ante menses, cum in colonia Capua deducti lege Iulia coloni ad extruendas villas vetustissima sepulchra disicerent, idque eo studiosius facerent quod aliquantum vasculorum operis antiqui scrutantes reperiebant, tabula aenea in monimento, in quo dicebatur Capys conditor Capuae sepultus, inventa est, conscripta litteris verbisque Graecis hac sententia, 'Quandoque ossa Capyis detecta essent, fore ut Iulo prognatus manu consanguineorum necaretur magnisque mox Italiae cladibus vindicaretur.' Cuius rei, ne quis fabulosam aut commenticiam putet, auctor est Cornelius Balbus, familiarissimus Caesaris. Proximis diebus equorum greges, quos in traiciendo Rubicone flumine consecrarat ac vagos et sine custode dimiserat, comperit pertinacissime pabulo abstinere ubertimque flere. Et immolantem haruspex Spurinna monuit, 'caveret periculum, quod non ultra Martias Idus proferretur.' Pridie autem easdem Idus avem regaliolum, cum laureo ramulo Pompeianae curiae se inferentem, volucres varii generis ex proximo nemore persecutae ibidem discerpserunt. Ea vero nocte, cui inluxit dies caedis, et ipse sibi visus est per quietem interdum supra nubes volitare, alias cum Iove dextram iungere; et Calpurnia uxor imaginata est, conlabi fastigium domus maritumque in gremio suo confodi; ac subito cubiculi fores sponte patuerunt.

Ob haec simul et ob infirmam valitudinem diu cunctatus, an se contineret et quae apud senatum

proposuerat agere differret, tandem Decimo Bruto adhortante, ne frequentis ac iam dudum opperientis destitueret, quinta fere hora progressus est libellumque insidiarum indicem, ab obvio quodam porrectum, libellis ceteris, quos sinistra manu tenebat quasi mox lecturus, commiscuit. Dein pluribus hostiis caesis, cum litare non posset, introiit curiam spreta religione Spurinnamque irridens et ut falsum arguens, quod sine ulla sua noxa Idus Martiae adessent: quamquam is venisse quidem eas diceret, sed non praeterisse.

82. Assidentem conspirati specie officii circumsteterunt; ilicoque Cimber Tillius qui primas partes susceperat, quasi aliquid rogaturus propius accessit, renuentique et gestu in aliud tempus differenti ab utroque umero togam adprehendit; deinde clamantem "Ista quidem vis est," alter e Cascis aversum vulnerat, paulum infra iugulum. Caesar Cascae bracchium arreptum graphio traiecit, conatusque prosilire alio vulnere tardatus est; utque animadvertit undique se strictis pugionibus peti, toga caput obvolvit, simul sinistra manu sinum ad ima crura deduxit, quo honestius caderet etiam inferiore corporis parte velata. Atque ita tribus et viginti plagis confossus est, uno modo ad primum ictum gemitu sine voce edito; etsi tradiderunt quidam Marco Bruto irruenti dixisse: *Καὶ σὺ τέκνον*; Exanimis, diffugientibus cunctis, aliquandiu iacuit, donec lecticae impositum, dependente bracchio, tres servoli domum rettulerunt. Nec in tot vulneribus, ut Antistius medicus existimabat, letale ullum repertum est, nisi quod secundo loco in pectore acceperat.

Fuerat animus coniuratis corpus occisi in Tiberim trahere, bona publicare, acta rescindere, sed metu Marci Antoni consulis et magistri equitum Lepidi destiterunt.

83. Postulante ergo Lucio Pisone socero testamentum eius aperitur recitaturque in Antoni domo, quod Idibus Septembribus proximis in Labicano suo fecerat demandaveratque virgini Vestali maximae. Quintus Tubero tradit, heredem ab eo scribi solitum ex consulatu ipsius primo usque ad initium civilis belli Cn. Pompeium, idque militibus pro contione recitatum. Sed novissimo testamento tres instituit heredes sororum nepotes, Gaium Octavium ex dodrante, et Lucium Pinarium et Quintum Pedium ex quadrante reliquo; in ima cera Gaium Octavium etiam in familiam nomenque adoptavit; plerosque percussorum in tutoribus fili, si qui sibi nasceretur, nominavit, Decimum Brutum etiam in secundis heredibus. Populo hortos circa Tiberim publice, et viritim trecenos sestertios legavit.

84. Funere indicto, rogus exstructus est in Martio Campo iuxta Iuliae tumulum et pro rostris aurata aedes ad simulacrum templi Veneris Genetricis collocata; intraque lectus eburneus auro ac purpura stratus, et ad caput tropaeum cum veste in qua fuerat occisus. Praeferentibus munera, quia suffecturus dies non videbatur, praeceptum, ut omisso ordine, quibus quisque vellet itineribus urbis, portaret in Campum. Inter ludos cantata sunt quaedam ad miserationem et invidiam caedis eius accommodata ex Pacuvi Armorum Iudicio:

Men servasse ut essent qui me perderent!

et ex Electra Atili ad similem sententiam. Laudationis loco consul Antonius per praeconem pronuntiavit senatus consultum, quo omnia simul ei divina atque humana decreverat, item ius iurandum, quo se cuncti pro salute unius astrinxerant; quibus perpauca a se verba addidit. Lectum pro rostris in forum magistratus et honoribus functi detulerunt. Quem cum pars in Capitolini Iovis cella cremare pars in curia Pompei destinaret, repente duo quidam, gladiis succincti ac bina iacula gestantes, ardentibus cereis succenderunt, confestimque circumstantium turba virgulta arida et cum subselliis tribunalia, quicquid praeterea ad donum aderat, congessit. Deinde tibicines et scenici artifices vestem, quam ex triumphorum instrumento ad praesentem usum induerant, detractam sibi atque discissam iniecere flammae, et veteranorum militum legionarii arma sua, quibus exculti funus celebrabant; matronae etiam pleraeque ornamenta sua, quae gerebant, et liberorum bullas atque praetextas.

In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium multitudo circulatim suo quaeque more lamentata est, praecipueque Iudaei, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt.

85. Plebs statim a funere ad domum Bruti et Cassii cum facibus tetendit atque aegre repulsa, obvium sibi Helvium Cinnam per errorem nominis, quasi Cornelius is esset, quem graviter pridie contionatum de Caesare requirebat, occidit caputque eius praefixum hastae circumtulit; postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit scripsitque PARENTI PATRIÆ.

Apud eam longo tempore sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias quasdam interposito per Caesarem iure iurando distrahere perseveravit.

86. Suspicionem Caesar quibusdam suorum reliquit, neque voluisse se diutius vivere, neque curasse quod valitudine minus prospera uteretur, ideoque et quae religiones monerent et quae renuntiarent amici neglexisse. Sunt qui putent confisum eum novissimo illo senatus consulto ac iure iurando etiam custodias Hispanorum cum gladiis adinspectantium se removisse. Alii e diverso opinantur, insidias undique imminentis subire semel quam cavere [sollicitum maluisse. Quidam dicere etiam] solitum ferunt, 'Non tam sua quam rei publicae interesse, uti salvus esset: se iam pridem potentiae gloriaeque abunde adeptum; rem publicam, si quid sibi eveniret, neque quietam fore et aliquanto deteriore condicione civilia bella subituram.'

87. Illud plane inter omnes fere constitit, talem ei mortem paene ex sententia obtigisse. Nam et quondam, cum apud Xenophontem legisset Cyrum ultima valitudine mandasse quaedam de funere suo, aspernatus tam lentum mortis genus subitam sibi celeremque optaverat; et pridie quam occideretur, in sermone nato super caenam apud Marcum Lepidum, quisnam esset finis vitae commodissimus, repentinum inopinatumque praetulerat.

88. Periit sexto et quinquagensimo aetatis anno atque in deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo decernentium sed et persuasione volgi. Siquidem ludis, quos primos consecrato ei heres Augustus edebat, stella crinita per septem conti-

nuos dies fulsit, exoriens circa undecimam horam, creditumque est animam esse Caesaris in caelum recepti; et hac de causa simulacro eius in vertice additur stella.

Curiam, in qua occisus est, obstrui placuit Idusque Martias PARRICIDIUM nominari, ac ne umquam eo die senatus ageretur.

89. Percussorum autem fere neque triennio quisquam amplius supervixit, neque sua morte defunctus est. Damnati omnes alius alio casu periit, pars naufragio, pars proelio; nonnulli semet eodem illo pugione, quo Caesarem violaverant, interemerunt.

DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

1. Gentem Octaviam Velitris praecipuam olim fuisse, multa declarant. Nam et vicus celeberrima parte oppidi iam pridem Octavius vocabatur et ostendebatur ara Octavio consecrata, qui bello dux finitimo, cum forte Marti rem divinam faceret, nuntiata repente hostis incursione, semicruda exta rapta foco prosecuit, atque ita proelium ingressus victor redit. Decretum etiam publicum exstabat, quo cavebatur ut in posterum quoque simili modo exta Marti redderentur, reliquiaeque ad Octavios referrentur.

2. Ea gens a Tarquinio Prisco rege inter minores gentis adlecta, mox a Servio Tullio in patricias traducta, procedente tempore ad plebem se contulit, ac rursus magno intervallo per Divum Iulium in patriciatum redit. Primus ex hac magistratum populi suffragio cepit C. Rufus. Is quaestorius Gnaeum et Gaium procreavit, a quibus duplex Octaviorum familia defluxit condicione diversa. Siquidem Gnaeus et deinceps ab eo reliqui omnes functi sunt honoribus summis. At Gaius eiusque posteri, seu fortuna seu voluntate, in equestri ordine constiterunt usque ad Augusti patrem. Proavus Augusti secundo Punico bello stipendia in Sicilia tribunus militum fecit Aemilio Papo impe-

ratore. Avus municipalibus magisteriis contentus abundante patrimonio tranquillissime senuit.

Sed haec alii; ipse Augustus nihil amplius quam equestri familia ortum se scribit vetere ac locuplete, et in qua primus senator pater suus fuerit. M. Antonius libertinum ei proavum exprobrat, restionem e pago Thurino, avum argentarium. Nec quicquam ultra de paternis Augusti maioribus repperi.

3. C. Octavius pater a principio aetatis et re et existimatione magna fuit, ut equidem mirer hunc quoque a nonnullis argentarium atque etiam inter divisores operasque campestris proditum; amplis enim innutritus opibus, honores et adeptus est facile et egregie administravit. Ex praetura Macedoniam sortitus, fugitivos, residuam Spartaci et Catilinae manum, Thurinum agrum tenentis, in itinere delevit, negotio sibi in senatu extra ordinem dato. Provinciae praefuit non minore iustitia quam fortitudine; namque Bessis ac Thracibus magno proelio fusis, ita socios tractavit ut epistolae M. Ciceronis exstent quibus Quintum fratrem, eodem tempore parum secunda fama proconsulatum Asiae administrantem, hortatur et monet, imitetur in promerendis sociis vicinum suum Octavium.

4. Decedens Macedonia, prius quam profiteri se candidatum consulatus posset, mortem obiit repentinam, superstitibus liberis Octavia maiore, quam ex Ancharia, et Octavia minore item Augusto, quos ex Atia tulerat. Atia M. Atio Balbo et Iulia, sorore C. Caesaris, genita est. Balbus, paterna stirpe Aricinus, multis in familia senatoriis imagi-

nibus, a matre Magnum Pompeium artissimo contingebat gradu functusque honore praeturae inter vigintiviros agrum Campanum plebi Iulia lege divisit. Verum idem Antonius, despiciens etiam maternam Augusti originem, proavum eius Afri generis fuisse et modo unguentariam tabernam modo pistrinum Ariciae exercuisse obicit. Cassius quidem Parmensis quadam epistola non tantum ut pistoris, sed etiam ut nummulari nepotem sic taxat Augustum: "Materna tibi farinast ex crudissimo Ariciae pistrino: hanc finxit manibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonensis mensarius."

5. Natus est Augustus M. Tullio Cicerone C. Antonio conss. VIIII. Kal. Octob., paulo ante solis exortum, regione Palati, ad Capita Bubula, ubi nunc sacrarium habet, aliquanto post quam excessit constitutum. Nam ut senatus actis continetur, cum C. Laetorius, adulescens patricii generis, in deprecanda graviore adulterii poena praeter aetatem atque natales hoc quoque patribus conscriptis adlegaret, esse possessorem ac velut aedituum soli quod primum Divus Augustus nascens attigisset, peteretque donari quasi proprio suo ac peculiari deo, decretum est ut ea pars domus consecraretur.

6. Nutrimentorum eius ostenditur adhuc locus in avito suburbano iuxta Velitras permodicus et cellae penuariae instar, tenetque vicinitatem opinio tamquam et natus ibi sit. Huc introire nisi necessario et caste religio est, concepta opinione veteri, quasi temere adeuntibus horror quidam et metus obiciatur, sed et mox confirmata. Nam cum possessor villae novus seu forte seu temptandi causa cubitum se eo contulisset, evenit ut post paucissi-

mas noctis horas exturbatus inde subita vi et incerta paene semianimis cum strato simul ante fores inveniretur.

7. Infanti cognomen THURINO inditum est, in memoriam maiorum originis, vel quod regione Thurina recens eo nato pater Octavius adversus fugitivos rem prospere gesserat. Thurinum cognominatum satis certa probatione tradiderim, nactus puerilem imagunculam eius aeream veterem, ferreis et paene iam exolescentibus litteris hoc nomine inscriptam, quae dono a me principi data inter cubiculi Lares colitur. Sed et a M. Antonio in epistolis per contumeliam saepe Thurinus appellatur, et ipse nihil amplius quam mirari se rescribit, pro obprobrio sibi prius nomen obici. Postea GAI CAESARIS et deinde AUGUSTI cognomen assumpsit, alterum testamento maioris avunculi, alterum Munati Planci sententia, cum, quibusdam censentibus Romulum appellari oportere quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis, praevaluisset, ut Augustus potius vocaretur, non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine, [quod loca quoque religiosa et in quibus augurato quid consecratur augusta dicantur, ab auctu vel ab avium gestu gustuve, sicut etiam Ennius docet scribens:

> Augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est.]

8. Quadrimus patrem amisit. Duodecimum annum agens aviam Iuliam defunctam pro contione laudavit. Quadriennio post virili toga sumpta, militaribus donis triumpho Caesaris Africano donatus est, quanquam expers belli propter aetatem. Profectum mox avunculum in Hispanias adversus

Cn. Pompei liberos, vixdum firmus a gravi valitudine, per infestas hostibus vias paucissimis comitibus naufragio etiam facto subsecutus, magnopere demeruit, approbata cito etiam morum indole super itineris industriam.

Caesare post receptas Hispanias expeditionem in Dacos et inde in Parthos destinante, praemissus Apolloniam studiis vacavit. Utque primum occisum eum heredemque se comperit, diu cunctatus an proximas legiones imploraret, id quidem consilium ut praeceps immaturumque omisit, ceterum urbe repetita hereditatem adiit, dubitante matre, vitrico vero Marcio Philippo consulari multum dissuadente. Atque ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis primum cum M. Antonio M. que Lepido deinde tantum cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quattuor et quadraginta solus rem publicam tenuit.

9. Proposita vitae eius velut summa, partes singillatim neque per tempora sed per species exsequar, quo distinctius demonstrari cognoscique possint.

Bella civilia quinque gessit: Mutinense, Philippense, Perusinum, Siculum, Actiacum; e quibus primum ac novissimum adversus M. Antonium, secundum adversus Brutum et Cassium, tertium adversus L. Antonium triumviri fratrem, quartum adversus Sextum Pompeium Cn. filium.

10. Omnium bellorum initium et causam hinc sumpsit: nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare tuerique acta, confestim ut Apollonia rediit, Brutum Cassiumque et vi necopinantis et (quia provisum periculum subterfuge-

rant) legibus adgredi reosque caedis absentis deferre statuit. Ludos autem victoriae Caesaris, non audentibus facere quibus optigerat id munus, ipse edidit. Et quo constantius cetera quoque exsequeretur, in locum tribuni plebis forte demortui, candidatum se ostendit quanquam patricius necdum senator. Sed adversante conatibus suis M. Antonio consule, quem vel praecipuum adiutorem speraverat, ac ne publicum quidem et translaticium ius ulla in re sibi sine pactione gravissimae mercedis impertiente, ad optimates se contulit, quibus eum invisum sentiebat, maxime quod D. Brutum obsessum Mutinae provincia a Caesare data et per senatum confirmata expellere armis niteretur. Hortantibus itaque nonnullis percussores ei subornavit, ac fraude deprehensa periculum in vicem metuens veteranos simul in suum ac rei publicae auxilium quanta potuit largitione contraxit; iussusque comparato exercitu pro praetore praeesse et cum Hirtio ac Pansa, qui consulatum susceperant, D. Bruto opem ferre, demandatum bellum tertio mense confecit duobus proeliis. Priore Antonius fugisse eum scribit ac sine paludamento equoque post biduum demum apparuisse, sequenti satis constat non modo ducis, sed etiam militis functum munere atque in media dimicatione, aquilifero legionis suae graviter saucio, aquilam umeris subisse diuque portasse.

11. Hoc bello cum Hirtius in acie, Pansa paulo post ex vulnere perissent, rumor increbruit ambos opera eius occisos, ut Antonio fugato, re publica consulibus orbata solus victores exercitus occuparet. Pansae quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit, ut

Glyco medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulneri indidisset. Adicit his Aquilius Niger, alterum e consulibus Hirtium in pugnae tumultu ab ipso interemptum.

12. Sed ut cognovit Antonium post fugam a M. Lepido receptum ceterosque duces et exercitus consentire pro partibus, causam optimatium sine cunctatione deseruit, ad praetextum mutatae voluntatis dicta factaque quorundam calumniatus, quasi alii se puerum, alii ornandum tollendumque iactassent, ne aut sibi aut veteranis par gratia referretur. Et quo magis paenitentiam prioris sectae approbaret, Nursinos grandi pecunia et quam pendere nequirent multatos extorres oppido egit, quod Mutinensi acie interemptorum civium tumulo publice exstructo ascripserant, pro libertate eos occubuisse.

13. Inita cum Antonio et Lepido societate, Philippense quoque bellum, quamquam invalidus atque aeger, duplici proelio transegit, quorum priore castris exutus vix ad Antoni cornu fuga evaserat. Nec successum victoriae moderatus est, sed capite Bruti Romam misso, ut statuae Caesaris subiceretur, in splendidissimum quemque captivum non sine verborum contumelia saeviit; ut quidem uni suppliciter sepulturam precanti respondisse dicatur, 'iam istam volucrum fore potestatem;' alios, patrem et filium, pro vita rogantis sortiri vel micare iussisse, ut alterutri concederetur, ac spectasse utrumque morientem, cum patre, quia se optulerat, occiso filius quoque voluntariam occubuisset necem. Quare ceteri, in his M. Favonius ille Catonis aemulus, cum catenati producerentur, impe-

ratore Antonio honorifice salutato, hunc foedissimo convitio coram prosciderunt.

Partitis post victoriam officiis, cum Antonius Orientem ordinandum, ipse veteranos in Italiam reducendos et municipalibus agris conlocandos recepisset, neque veteranorum neque possessorum gratiam tenuit, alteris pelli se, alteris non pro spe meritorum tractari querentibus.

14. Quo tempore L. Antonium fiducia consulatus quem gerebat, ac fraternae potentiae res novas molientem confugere Perusiam coegit et ad deditionem fame compulit, non tamen sine magnis suis et ante bellum et in bello discriminibus. Nam cum spectaculo ludorum gregarium militem in quattuordecim ordinibus sedentem excitari per apparitorem iussisset, rumore ab obtrectatoribus dilato quasi eundem mox et discruciatum necasset, minimum afuit quin periret concursu et indignatione turbae militaris. Saluti fuit quod qui desiderabatur repente comparuit incolumis ac sine iniuria. Circa Perusinum autem murum sacrificans paene interceptus est a manu gladiatorum, quae oppido eruperat.

15. Perusia capta in plurimos animadvertit, orare veniam vel excusare se conantibus una voce occurrens, 'moriendum esse.' Scribunt quidam, trecentos ex dediticiis electos utriusque ordinis ad aram Divo Iulio exstructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos. Exstiterunt qui traderent, conpecto eum ad arma isse ut occulti adversarii et quos metus magis quam voluntas contineret, facultate L. Antoni ducis praebita, detegerentur de-

victisque is et confiscatis, promissa veteranis praemia persolverentur.

16. Siculum bellum inchoavit in primis, sed diu traxit intermissum saepius, modo reparandarum classium causa, quas tempestatibus duplici naufragio et quidem per aestatem amiserat, modo pace facta, flagitante populo ob interclusos commeatus famemque ingravescentem; donec navibus ex integro fabricatis ac viginti servorum milibus manumissis et ad remum datis, portum Iulium apud Baias, inmisso in Lucrinum et Avernum lacum mari, effecit. In quo cum hieme tota copias exercuisset, Pompeium inter Mylas et Naulochum superavit, sub horam pugnae tam arto repente somno devinctus ut ad dandum signum ab amicis excitaretur. Unde praebitam Antonio materiam putem exprobrandi, 'ne rectis quidem oculis eum aspicere potuisse instructam aciem, verum supinum, caelum intuentem, stupidum cubuisse, nec prius surrexisse ac militibus in conspectum venisse quam a M. Agrippa fugatae sint hostium naves.' Alii dictum factumque eius criminantur, quasi classibus tempestate perditis exclamaverit, 'etiam invito Neptuno victoriam se adepturum,' ac die Circensium proximo sollemni pompae simulacrum dei detraxerit. Nec temere plura ac maiora pericula ullo alio bello adiit. Traiecto in Siciliam exercitu, cum partem reliquam copiarum continenti repeteret, oppressus ex inproviso a Demochare et Apollophane praefectis Pompei, uno demum navigio aegerrime effugit. Iterum cum praeter Locros Regium pedibus iret et prospectis biremibus Pompeianis terram legentibus, suas ratus, descendisset

ad litus, paene exceptus est. Tunc etiam per devios tramites refugientem servus Aemili Pauli comitis eius, dolens proscriptum olim ab eo patrem Paulum et quasi occasione ultionis oblata, interficere conatus est.

Post Pompei fugam collegarum alterum M. Lepidum, quem ex Africa in auxilium evocarat, superbientem viginti legionum fiducia summasque sibi partes terrore et minis vindicantem spoliavit exercitu supplicemque concessa vita Circeios in perpetuum relegavit.

17. M. Antonii societatem semper dubiam et incertam reconciliationibusque variis male focilatam abrupit tandem, et quo magis degenerasse eum a civili more approbaret, testamentum quod is Romae, etiam de Cleopatra liberis inter heredes nuncupatis, reliquerat, aperiundum recitandumque pro contione curavit. Remisit tamen hosti iudicato necessitudines amicosque omnes, atque inter alios C. Sosium et T. Domitium tunc adhuc consules. Bononiensibus quoque publice, quod in Antoniorum clientela antiquitus erant, gratiam fecit coniurandi cum tota Italia pro partibus suis. Nec multò post navali proelio apud Actium vicit, in serum dimicatione protracta, ut in nave victor pernoctaverit. Ab Actio cum Samum in hiberna se recepisset, turbatus nuntiis de seditione praemia et missionem poscentium, quos ex omni numero confecta victoria Brundisium praemiserat, repetita Italia, tempestate in traiectu bis conflictatus (primo inter promuntoria Peloponnesi atque Aetoliae, rursus circa montes Ceraunios, utrubique parte liburnicarum demersa, simul eius, in qua vehebatur,

fusis armamentis et gubernaculo diffracto) nec amplius quam septem et viginti dies, donec desideria militum ordinarentur, Brundisii commoratus, Asiae Syriaeque circuitu Aegyptum petit obsessaque Alexandrea, quo Antonius cum Cleopatra confugerat, brevi potitus est. Et Antonium quidem, seras condiciones pacis temptantem, ad mortem adegit viditque mortuum. Cleopatrae, quam servatam triumpho magnopere cupiebat, etiam psyllos admovit, qui venenum ac virus exsugerent, quod perisse morsu aspidis putabatur. Ambobus communem sepulturae honorem tribuit ac tumulum ab ipsis inchoatum perfici iussit. Antonium iuvenem, maiorem de duobus Fulvia genitis, simulacro Divi Iuli, ad quod post multas et irritas preces confugerat, abreptum interemit. Item Caesarionem, quem ex Caesare Cleopatra concepisse praedicabat, retractum e fuga supplicio adfecit. Reliquos Antonii reginaeque communes liberos non secus ac necessitudine iunctos sibi et conservavit et mox pro condicione cuiusque sustinuit ac fovit.

18. Per idem tempus conditorium et corpus Magni Alexandri, cum prolatum e penetrali subiecisset oculis, corona aurea imposita ac floribus aspersis veneratus est, consultusque, num et Ptolemaeum inspicere vellet, 'regem se voluisse,' ait 'videre, non mortuos.' Aegyptum in provinciae formam redactam ut feraciorem habilioremque annonae urbicae redderet, fossas omnis, in quas Nilus exaestuat, oblimatas longa vetustate militari opere detersit. Quoque Actiacae victoriae memoria celebratior et in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit ludosque illic quinquennales

constituit et ampliato vetere Apollinis templo locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.

19. Tumultus posthac et rerum novarum initia coniurationesque complures, prius quam invalescerent indicio detectas, compressit alias alio tempore: Lepidi iuvenis, deinde Varronis Murenae et Fanni Caepionis, mox M. Egnati, exin Plauti Rufi Lucique Pauli progeneri sui, ac praeter has L. Audasi, falsarum tabularum rei ac neque aetate neque corpore integri, item Asini Epicadi ex gente Parthina hibridae, ad extremum Telephi, mulieris servi nomenculatoris. Nam ne ultimae quidem sortis hominum conspiratione et periculo caruit. Audasius atque Epicadus Iuliam filiam et Agrippam nepotem ex insulis quibus continebantur, rapere ad exercitus, Telephus quasi debita sibi fato dominatione et ipsum et senatum adgredi destinarant. Quin etiam quondam iuxta cubiculum eius lixa quidam ex Illyrico exercitu, ianitoribus deceptis, noctu deprehensus est cultro venatorio cinctus, imposne mentis an simulata dementia, incertum; nihil enim exprimi quaestione potuit.

20. Externa bella duo omnino per se gessit, Delmaticum adulescens adhuc, et, Antonio devicto, Cantabricum. Delmatico etiam vulnera excepit, una acie dextrum genu lapide ictus, altera et crus et utrumque bracchium ruina pontis consauciatus. Reliqua per legatos administravit ut tamen quibusdam Pannonicis atque Germanicis aut interveniret aut non longe abesset, Ravennam vel Mediolanium vel Aquileiam usque ab urbe progrediens.

21. Domuit autem partim ductu partim auspi-

ciis suis Cantabriam, Aquitaniam, Pannoniam, Delmatiam cum Illyrico omni, item Raetiam et Vindelicos ac Salassos, gentes Inalpinas. Coercuit et Dacorum incursiones, tribus eorum ducibus cum magna copia caesis, Germanosque ultra Albim fluvium summovit, ex quibus Suebos et Sigambros dedentis se traduxit in Galliam atque in proximis Rheno agris conlocavit. Alias item nationes male quietas ad obsequium redegit. Nec ulli genti sine iustis et necessariis causis bellum intulit, tantumque afuit a cupiditate quoquo modo imperium vel bellicam gloriam augendi, ut quorundam barbarorum principes in aede Martis Ultoris iurare coegerit mansuros se in fide ac pace quam peterent, a quibusdam vero novum genus obsidum, feminas, exigere temptaverit, quod neglegere marum pignera sentiebat; et tamen potestatem semper omnibus fecit, quotiens vellent obsides recipiendi. Neque aut crebrius aut perfidiosius rebellantis graviore umquam ultus est poena, quam ut captivos sub lege venundaret ne in vicina regione servirent neve intra tricensimum annum liberarentur. Qua virtutis moderationisque fama Indos etiam ac Scythas, auditu modo cognitos, pellexit ad amicitiam suam populique Romani ultro per legatos petendam. Parthi quoque et Armeniam vindicanti facile cesserunt et signa militaria, quae M. Crasso et M. Antonio ademerant, reposcenti reddiderunt obsidesque insuper optulerunt, denique, pluribus quondam de regno concertantibus, nonnisi ab ipso electum probaverunt.

22. Ianum Quirinum, semel atque iterum a condita urbe ante memoriam suam clausum, in multo

breviore temporis spatio terra marique pace parta ter clusit. Bis ovans ingressus est urbem, post Philippense et rursus post Siculum bellum. Curulis triumphos tris egit, Delmaticum, Actiacum, Alexandrinum, continuo triduo omnes.

23. Graves ignominias cladesque duas omnino nec alibi quam in Germania accepit, Lollianam et Varianam, sed Lollianam maioris infamiae quam detrimenti, Varianam paene exitiabilem, tribus legionibus cum duce legatisque et auxiliis omnibus caesis. Hac nuntiata excubias per urbem indixit, ne quis tumultus existeret, et praesidibus provinciarum propagavit imperium ut a peritis et assuetis socii continerentur. Vovit et magnos ludos Iovi Optimo Maximo, si res publica in meliorem statum vertisset: quod factum Cimbrico Marsicoque bello erat. Adeo denique consternatum ferunt ut per continuos menses barba capilloque summisso caput interdum foribus illideret, vociferans: "Quintili Vare, legiones redde!" diemque cladis quot annis maestum habuerit ac lugubrem.

24. In re militari et commutavit multa et instituit, atque etiam ad antiquum morem nonnulla revocavit. Disciplinam severissime rexit: ne legatorum quidem cuiquam, nisi gravate hibernisque demum mensibus, permisit uxorem intervisere. Equitem Romanum quod duobus filiis adulescentibus causa detrectandi sacramenti pollices amputasset, ipsum bonaque subiecit hastae; quem tamen, quod inminere emptioni publicanos videbat, liberto suo addixit, ut relegatum in agros pro libero esse sineret. Decimam legionem contumacius parentem cum ignominia totam dimisit, item

alias immodeste missionem postulantes citra commoda emeritorum praemiorum exauctoravit. Cohortes, si quae cessissent loco, decimatas hordeo pavit. Centuriones statione deserta, itidem ut manipulares, capitali animadversione puniit, pro cetero delictorum genere variis ignominis adfecit, ut stare per totum diem iuberet ante praetorium, interdum tunicatos discinctosque, nonnumquam cum decempedis, vel etiam caespitem portantes.

25. Neque post bella civilia aut in contione aut per edictum ullos militum 'commilitones' appellabat, sed 'milites,' ac ne a filiis quidem aut privignis suis imperio praeditis aliter appellari passus est, ambitiosius id existimans, quam aut ratio militaris aut temporum quies aut sua domusque suae maiestas postularet. Libertino milite, praeterquam Romae incendiorum causa et si tumultus in graviore annona metueretur, bis usus est: semel ad praesidium coloniarum Illyricum contingentium, iterum ad tutelam ripae Rheni fluminis; eosque, servos adhuc viris feminisque pecuniosioribus indictos ac sine mora manumissos, sub priore vexillo habuit, neque aut commixtos cum ingenuis aut eodem modo armatos.

Dona militaria, aliquanto facilius phaleras et torques, quicquid auro argentoque constaret, quam vallares ac murales coronas, quae honore praecellerent, dabat; has quam parcissime et sine ambitione ac saepe etiam caligatis tribuit. M. Agrippam in Sicilia post navalem victoriam caeruleo vexillo donavit. Solos triumphales, quamquam et socios expeditionum et participes victoriarum suarum, numquam donis impertiendos putavit, quod

ipsi quoque ius habuissent tribuendi ea quibus vellent. Nihil autem minus perfecto duci quam festinationem temeritatemque convenire arbitrabatur. Crebro itaque illa iactabat: *Σπεῦδε βραδέως! Ἀσφαλὴς γάρ ἐστ' ἀμείνων ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης:* et, 'sat celeriter fieri quidquid fiat satis bene.' Proelium quidem aut bellum suscipiendum omnino negabat, nisi cum maior emolumenti spes quam damni metus ostenderetur. Nam minima commoda non minimo sectantis discrimine similes aiebat esse aureo hamo piscantibus, cuius abrupti damnum nulla captura pensari posset.

26. Magistratus atque honores et ante tempus et quosdam novi generis perpetuosque cepit. Consulatum vicesimo aetatis anno invasit, admotis hostiliter ad urbem legionibus, missisque qui sibi nomine exercitus deposcerent; cum quidem cunctante senatu Cornelius centurio, princeps legationis, reiecto sagulo ostendens gladii capulum, non dubitasset in curia dicere: "Hic faciet, si vos non feceritis." Secundum consulatum post novem annos, tertium anno interiecto gessit, sequentis usque ad undecimum continuavit, multisque mox. cum deferrentur, recusatis duodecimum magno, id est septemdecim annorum, intervallo et rursus tertium decimum biennio post ultro petiit, ut C. et Lucium filios amplissimo praeditus magistratu suo quemque tirocinio deduceret in forum. Quinque medios consulatus a sexto ad decimum annuos gessit, ceteros aut novem aut sex aut quattuor aut tribus mensibus, secundum vero paucissimis horis. Nam die Kal. Ian. cum mane pro aede Capitolini

Iovis paululum curuli sella praesedisset, honore abiit suffecto alio in locum suum. Nec omnes Romae, sed quartum consulatum in Asia, quintum in insula Samo, octavum et nonum Tarracone init.

27. Triumviratum rei publicae constituendae per decem annos administravit; in quo restitit quidem aliquandiu collegis ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit. Namque illis in multorum saepe personam per gratiam et preces exorabilibus, solus magnopere contendit ne cui parceretur, proscripsitque etiam C. Toranium tutorem suum, eundem collegam patris sui Octavi in aedilitate. Iunius Saturninus hoc amplius tradit, cum peracta proscriptione M. Lepidus in senatu excusasset praeterita et spem clementiae in posterum fecisset, quoniam satis poenarum exactum esset, hunc e diverso professum, 'ita modum se proscribendi statuisse, ut omnia sibi reliquerit libera.' In cuius tamen pertinaciae paenitentiam postea T. Vinium Philopoemenem, quod patronum suum proscriptum celasse olim diceretur, equestri dignitate honoravit. In eadem hac potestate multiplici flagravit invidia. Nam et Pinarium equitem Romanum cum, contionante se admissa turba paganorum, apud milites subscribere quaedam animadvertisset, curiosum ac speculatorem ratus, coram confodi imperavit; et Tedium Afrum consulem designatum, quia factum quoddam suum maligno sermone carpsisset, tantis conterruit minis ut is se praecipitaverit; et Quintum Gallium praetorem, in officio salutationis tabellas duplices veste tectas tenentem, suspicatus gladium occulere, nec quidquam statim, ne aliud inveniretur, ausus inquirere,

paulo post per centuriones et milites raptum e tribunali, servilem in modum torsit ac fatentem nihil iussit occidi, prius oculis eius sua manu effossis; quem tamen scribit conloquio petito insidiatum sibi coniectumque a se in custodiam, deinde urbe interdicta dimissum, naufragio vel latronum insidiis perisse. Tribuniciam potestatem perpetuam recepit, in qua semel atque iterum per singula lustra collegam sibi cooptavit. Recepit et morum legumque regimen aeque perpetuum, quo iure, quamquam sine censurae honore, censum tamen populi ter egit: primum ac tertium cum collega, medium solus.

28. De reddenda re publica bis cogitavit: primum post oppressum statim Antonium, memor obiectum sibi ab eo saepius, quasi per ipsum staret ne redderetur; ac rursus taedio diuturnae valitudinis, cum etiam magistratibus ac senatu domum accitis rationarium imperii tradidit. Sed reputans, et se privatum non sine periculo fore et illam plurium arbitrio temere committi, in retinenda perseveravit, dubium, eventu meliore an voluntate. Quam voluntatem, cum prae se identidem ferret, quodam etiam edicto his verbis testatus est: "Ita mihi salvam ac sospitem rem publicam sistere in sua sede liceat, atque eius rei fructum percipere, quem peto, ut optimi status auctor dicar, et moriens ut feram mecum spem mansura in vestigio suo fundamenta rei publicae quae iecero." Fecitque ipse se compotem voti, nisus omni modo ne quem novi status paeniteret.

Urbem, neque pro maiestate imperii ornatam et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam, excoluit

adeo, ut iure sit gloriatus, 'marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset.' Tutam vero, quantum provideri humana ratione potuit, etiam in posterum praestitit.

29. Publica opera plurima exstruxit, e quibus vel praecipua: forum cum aede Martis Ultoris, templum Apollinis in Palatio, aedem Tonantis Iovis in Capitolio. Fori exstruendi causa fuit hominum et iudiciorum multitudo, quae videbatur non sufficientibus duobus etiam tertio indigere; itaque festinatius necdum perfecta Martis aede publicatum est, cautumque ut separatim in eo publica iudicia et sortitiones iudicum fierent. Aedem Martis bello Philippensi, pro ultione paterna suscepto, voverat; sanxit ergo, ut de bellis triumphisque hic consuleretur senatus, provincias cum imperio petituri hinc deducerentur, quique victores redissent, huc insignia triumphorum conferrent. Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiarant; addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit. Tonanti Iovi aedem consecravit liberatus periculo, cum expeditione Cantabrica per nocturnum iter lecticam eius fulgur praestrinxisset servumque praelucentem exanimasset. Quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque, fecit, ut porticum basilicamque Gai et Luci, item porticus Liviae et Octaviae theatrumque Marcelli. Sed et ceteros principes viros saepe hortatus est, ut pro facultate quisque monimentis vel novis vel refectis et excultis urbem adornarent.

Multaque a multis tunc exstructa sunt, sicut a Marcio Philippo aedes Herculis Musarum, a L. Cornificio aedes Dianae, ab Asinio Pollione atrium Libertatis, a Munatio Planco aedes Saturni, a Cornelio Balbo theatrum, a Statilio Tauro amphitheatrum, a M. vero Agrippa complura et egregia.

30. Spatium urbis in regiones vicosque divisit instituitque, ut illas annui magistratus sortito tuerentur, hos magistri e plebe cuiusque viciniae lecti. Adversus incendia excubias nocturnas vigilesque commentus est; ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit ac repurgavit, completum olim ruderibus et aedificiorum prolationibus coartatum. Quo autem facilius undique urbs adiretur, desumpta sibi Flaminia via Arimino tenus munienda, reliquas triumphalibus viris ex manubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit.

Aedes sacras vetustate conlapsas aut incendio absumptas refecit easque et ceteras opulentissimis donis adornavit, ut qui in cellam Capitolini Iovis sedecim milia pondo auri gemmasque ac margaritas quingenties sestertii una donatione contulerit.

31. Postquam vero pontificatum maximum, quem numquam vivo Lepido auferre sustinuerat, mortuo demum suscepit, quidquid fatidicorum librorum Graeci Latinique generis nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duo milia contracta undique cremavit ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos, hos quoque dilectu habito; condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi. Annum a Divo Iulio ordinatum, sed postea neglegentia conturbatum atque confusum, rursus ad pristinam rationem redegit; in cuius ordinatione

Sextilem mensem e suo cognomine nuncupavit, magis quam Septembrem quo erat natus, quod hoc sibi et primus consulatus et insignes victoriae optigissent. Sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem sed et commoda auxit, praecipue Vestalium virginum. Cumque in demortuae locum aliam capi oporteret, ambirentque multi ne filias in sortem darent, adiuravit, si cuiusquam neptium suarum competeret aetas, oblaturum se fuisse eam. Nonnulla etiam ex antiquis caerimonis paulatim abolita restituit, ut Salutis augurium, Diale flaminium, sacrum Lupercale, Ludos Saeculares et Compitalicios. Lupercalibus vetuit currere inberbes, item Saecularibus Ludis iuvenes utriusque sexus prohibuit ullum nocturnum spectaculum frequentare nisi cum aliquo maiore natu propinquorum. Compitales Lares ornari bis anno instituit, vernis floribus et aestivis.

Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui imperium populi Romani ex minimo maximum reddidissent. Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit, professus edicto 'commentum id se, ut ad illorum velut exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et insequentium aetatium principes exigerentur a civibus.' Pompei quoque statuam contra theatri eius regiam marmoreo Iano superposuit, translatam e curia in qua C. Caesar fuerat occisus.

32. Pleraque pessimi exempli in perniciem publicam aut ex consuetudine licentiaque bellorum civilium duraverant aut per pacem etiam exstiterant;

nam et grassatorum plurimi palam se ferebant succincti ferro, quasi tuendi sui causa, et rapti per agros viatores sine discrimine liberi servique ergastulis possessorum supprimebantur, et plurimae factiones titulo collegi novi ad nullius non facinoris societatem coibant. Igitur grassaturas dispositis per opportuna loca stationibus inhibuit, ergastula recognovit, collegia praeter antiqua et legitima dissolvit. Tabulas veterum aerari debitorum, vel praecipuam calumniandi materiam, exussit; loca in urbe publica iuris ambigui, possessoribus adiudicavit; diuturnorum reorum et ex quorum sordibus nihil aliud quam voluptas inimicis quaereretur nomina abolevit, condicione proposita, ut si quem quis repetere vellet, par periculum poenae subiret. Ne quod autem maleficium negotiumve inpunitate vel mora elaberetur, triginta amplius dies, qui honoraris ludis occupabantur, actui rerum accommodavit. Ad tris iudicum decurias quartam addidit ex inferiore censu, quae ducenariorum vocaretur iudicaretque de levioribus summis. Iudices a vicensimo aetatis anno adlegit, id est quinquennio maturius quam solebant. Ac plerisque iudicandi munus detractantibus, vix concessit ut singulis decuriis per vices annua vacatio esset, et ut solitae agi Novembri ac Decembri mense res omitterentur.

33. Ipse ius dixit assidue et in noctem nonnumquam, si parum corpore valeret, lectica pro tribunali collocata vel etiam domi cubans. Dixit autem ius non diligentia modo summa sed et lenitate, siquidem manifesti parricidii reum, ne culleo insueretur, quod nonnisi confessi adficiuntur hac poena,

ita fertur interrogasse: "Certe patrem tuum non occidisti?" Et cum de falso testamento ageretur omnesque signatores lege Cornelia tenerentur, non tantum duas tabellas, damnatoriam et absolutoriam, simul cognoscentibus dedit, sed tertiam quoque, qua ignosceretur iis, quos fraude ad signandum vel errore inductos constitisset. Appellationes quot annis urbanorum quidem litigatorum praetori delegabat urbano, ac provincialium consularibus viris, quos singulos cuiusque provinciae negotiis praeposuisset.

34. Leges retractavit et quasdam ex integro sanxit, ut sumptuariam et de adulteriis et de pudicitia, de ambitu, de maritandis ordinibus. Hanc cum aliquanto severius quam ceteras emendasset, prae tumultu recusantium perferre non potuit, nisi adempta demum lenitave parte poenarum et vacatione trienni data auctisque praemiis. Sic quoque abolitionem eius publico spectaculo pertinaciter postulante equite, accitos Germanici liberos receptosque partim ad se partim in patris gremium ostentavit, manu vultuque significans ne gravarentur imitari iuvenis exemplum. Cumque etiam inmaturitate sponsarum et matrimoniorum crebra mutatione vim legis eludi sentiret, tempus sponsas habendi coartavit, divortiis modum imposuit.

35. Senatorum affluentem numerum deformi et incondita turba (erant enim super mille, et quidam indignissimi et post necem Caesaris per gratiam et praemium adlecti, quos Orcinos vulgus vocabat) ad modum pristinum et splendorem redegit duabus lectionibus: prima ipsorum arbitratu, quo vir virum legit, secunda suo et Agrippae; quo tempore exis-

timatur lorica sub veste munitus ferroque cinctus praesedisse, decem valentissimis senatorii ordinis amicis sellam suam circumstantibus. Cordus Cremutius scribit, ne admissum quidem tunc quemquam senatorum nisi solum et praetemptato sinu. Quosdam ad excusandi se verecundiam compulit servavitque etiam excusatis insigne vestis et spectandi in orchestra epulandique publice ius. Quo autem lecti probatique et religiosius et minore molestia senatoria munera fungerentur, sanxit ut prius quam consideret quisque ture ac mero supplicaret apud aram eius dei, in cuius templo coiretur, et ne plus quam bis in mense legitimus senatus ageretur, Kal. et Idibus, neve Septembri Octobrive mense ullos adesse alios necesse esset quam sorte ductos, per quorum numerum decreta confici possent; sibique instituit consilia sortiri semenstria, cum quibus de negotiis ad frequentem senatum referendis ante tractaret. Sententias de maiore negotio non more atque ordine sed prout libuisset perrogabat, ut perinde quisque animum intenderet ac si censendum magis quam adsentiendum esset.

36. Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit, in quis: ne acta senatus publicarentur, ne magistratus deposito honore statim in provincias mitterentur, ut proconsulibus ad mulos et tabernacula quae publice locari solebant certa pecunia constitueretur, ut cura aerari a quaestoribus urbanis ad praetorios praetoresve transiret, ut centumviralem hastam quam quaesturam functi consuerant cogere decemviri cogerent.

37. Quoque plures partem administrandae rei publicae caperent, nova officia excogitavit: curam

operum publicorum, viarum, aquarum, alvei Tiberis, frumenti populo dividundi, praefecturam urbis, triumviratum legendi senatus, et alterum recognoscendi turmas equitum, quotiensque opus esset. Censores creari desitos longo intervallo creavit. Numerum praetorum auxit. Exegit etiam, ut quotiens consulatus sibi daretur, binos pro singulis collegas haberet, nec optinuit, reclamantibus cunctis satis maiestatem eius imminui, quod honorem eum non solus sed cum altero gereret.

38. Nec parcior in bellica virtute honoranda, super triginta ducibus iustos triumphos et aliquanto pluribus triumphalia ornamenta decernenda curavit.

Liberis senatorum, quo celerius rei publicae assuescerent, protinus a virili toga latum clavum induere et curiae interesse permisit, militiamque auspicantibus non tribunatum modo legionum, sed et praefecturas alarum dedit; ac ne qui expers castrorum esset, binos plerumque laticlavios praeposuit singulis alis.

Equitum turmas frequenter recognovit, post longam intercapedinem reducto more travectionis. Sed neque detrahi quemquam in travehendo ab accusatore passus est, quod fieri solebat, et senio vel aliqua corporis labe insignibus permisit, praemisso in ordine equo, ad respondendum quotiens citarentur pedibus venire; mox reddendi equi gratiam fecit eis, qui maiores annorum quinque et triginta retinere eum nollent.

39. Impetratisque a senatu decem adiutoribus, unum quemque equitum rationem vitae reddere coegit atque ex inprobatis alios poena, alios igno-

minia notavit, plures admonitione, sed varia. Lenissimum genus admonitionis fuit traditio coram pugillarium, quos taciti et ibidem statim legerent; notavitque aliquos, quod pecunias levioribus usuris mutuati graviore faenore collocassent.

40. Ac comitiis tribuniciis si deessent candidati senatores, ex equitibus Romanis creavit, ita ut potestate transacta, in utro vellent ordine manerent. Cum autem plerique equitum attrito bellis civilibus patrimonio spectare ludos e quattuordecim non auderent metu poenae theatralis, pronuntiavit non teneri ea, quibus ipsis parentibusve equester census umquam fuisset.

Populi recensum vicatim egit, ac ne plebs frumentationum causa frequentius ab negotiis avocaretur, ter in annum quaternum mensum tesseras dare destinavit; sed desideranti consuetudinem veterem concessit rursus, ut sui cuiusque mensis acciperet. Comitiorum quoque pristinum ius reduxit ac multiplici poena coercito ambitu, Fabianis et Scaptiensibus tribulibus suis die comitiorum, ne quid a quoquam candidato desiderarent, singula milia nummum a se dividebat.

Magni praeterea existimans sincerum atque ab omni colluvione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum servare populum, et civitatem Romanam parcissime dedit et manumittendi modum terminavit. Tiberio pro cliente Graeco petenti rescripsit, non aliter se daturum, quam si praesens sibi persuasisset, quam iustas petendi causas haberet; et Liviae pro quodam tributario Gallo roganti civitatem negavit, immunitatem optulit affirmans, facilius se passurum fisco detrahi aliquid,

quam civitatis Romanae vulgari honorem. Servos non contentus multis difficultatibus a libertate et multo pluribus a libertate iusta removisse, cum et de numero et de condicione ac differentia eorum qui manumitterentur curiose cavisset, hoc quoque adiecit, ne vinctus umquam tortusve quis ullo libertatis genere civitatem adipisceretur.

Etiam habitum vestitumque pristinum reducere studuit, ac visa quondam pro contione pullatorum turba, indignabundus et clamitans: "En,

> 'Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam!'"

negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in foro circove nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere.

41. Liberalitatem omnibus ordinibus per occasiones frequenter exhibuit. Nam et invecta urbi Alexandrino triumpho regia gaza tantam copiam nummariae rei effecit, ut faenore deminuto plurimum agrorum pretiis accesserit, et postea quotiens ex damnatorum bonis pecunia superflueret, usum eius gratuitum iis qui cavere in duplum possent ad certum tempus indulsit. Senatorum censum ampliavit ac pro octingentorum milium summa duodecies sestertio taxavit, supplevitque non habentibus. Congiaria populo frequenter dedit, sed diversae fere summae: modo quadringenos, modo trecenos, nonnumquam ducenos quinquagenosque nummos; ac ne minores quidem pueros praeteriit, quamvis nonnisi ab undecimo aetatis anno accipere consuessent. Frumentum quoque in annonae difficultatibus saepe levissimo, interdum nullo pretio viritim admensus est tesserasque nummarias duplicavit.

42. Sed ut salubrem magis quam ambitiosum principem scires, querentem de inopia et caritate vini populum severissima coercuit voce, 'satis provisum a genero suo Agrippa perductis pluribus aquis, ne homines sitirent.' Eidem populo promissum quidem congiarium reposcenti, 'bonae se fidei esse' respondit; non promissum autem flagitanti turpitudinem et impudentiam edicto exprobravit affirmavitque, 'non daturum se quamvis dare destinaret.' Nec minore gravitate atque constantia, cum proposito congiario multos manumissos insertosque civium numero comperisset, negavit accepturos quibus promissum non esset, ceterisque minus quam promiserat dedit, ut destinata summa sufficeret. Magna vero quondam sterilitate ac difficili remedio, cum venalicias et lanistarum familias peregrinosque omnes, exceptis medicis et praeceptoribus, partemque servitiorum urbe expulisset; ut tandem annona convaluit, 'impetum se cepisse' scribit 'frumentationes publicas in perpetuum abolendi, quod earum fiducia cultura agrorum cessaret: neque tamen perseverasse, quia certum haberet post se per ambitionem quandoque restitui.' Atque ita posthac rem temperavit, ut non minorem aratorum ac negotiantium quam populi rationem deduceret.

43. Spectaculorum et assiduitate et varietate et magnificentia omnes antecessit. Fecisse se ludos ait suo nomine quater, pro aliis magistratibus, qui aut abessent aut non sufficerent, ter et vicies. Fecitque nonnumquam vicatim ac pluribus scaenis per omnium linguarum histriones. Munera non in foro modo, nec in amphitheatro, sed et in circo et in

Septis, et aliquando nihil praeter venationem edidit; athletas quoque, exstructis in Campo Martio sedilibus ligneis; item navale proelium, circa Tiberim cavato solo, in quo nunc Caesarum nemus est. Quibus diebus custodes in urbe disposuit, ne raritate remanentium grassatoribus obnoxia esset. In circo aurigas cursoresque et confectores ferarum, et nonnumquam ex nobilissima iuventute, produxit. Sed et Troiae lusum edidit frequentissime maiorum minorumque puerorum, prisci decorique moris existimans, clarae stirpis indolem sic notescere. In hoc ludicro Nonium Asprenatem lapsu debilitatum aureo torque donavit passusque est ipsum posterosque Torquati ferre cognomen. Mox finem fecit talia edendi, Asinio Pollione oratore graviter invidioseque in curia questo Aesernini nepotis sui casum, qui et ipse crus fregerat.

Ad scenicas quoque et gladiatorias operas et equitibus Romanis aliquando usus est, verum prius quam senatus consulto interdiceretur. Postea nihil sane praeterquam adulescentulum L. Icium honeste natum exhibuit, tantum ut ostenderet; quod erat bipedali minor, librarum septemdecim ac vocis immensae. Quodam autem muneris die Parthorum obsides, tunc primum missos, per mediam harenam ad spectaculum induxit superque se subsellio secundo collocavit. Solebat etiam citra spectaculorum dies, si quando quid invisitatum dignumque cognitu advectum esset, id extra ordinem quolibet loco publicare: ut rhinocerotem apud Septa, tigrim in scaena, anguem quinquaginta cubitorum pro comitio.

Accidit votivis circensibus, ut correptus valitu-

dine lectica cubans tensas deduceret; rursus commissione ludorum, quibus theatrum Marcelli dedicabat, evenit ut laxatis sellae curulis compagibus caderet supinus. Nepotum quoque suorum munere cum consternatum ruinae metu populum retinere et confirmare nullo modo posset, transiit e loco suo atque in ea parte consedit, quae suspecta maxime erat.

44. Spectandi confusissimum ac solutissimum morem correxit ordinavitque, motus iniuria senatoris, quem Puteolis per celeberrimos ludos consessu frequenti nemo receperat. Facto igitur decreto patrum ut, quotiens quid spectaculi usquam publice ederetur, primus subselliorum ordo vacaret senatoribus, Romae legatos liberarum sociarumque gentium vetuit in orchestra sedere, cum quosdam etiam libertini generis mitti deprendisset. Militem secrevit a populo. Maritis e plebe proprios ordines assignavit, praetextatis cuneum suum, et proximum paedagogis, sanxitque ne quis pullatorum media cavea sederet. Feminis ne gladiatores quidem, quos promiscue spectari sollemne olim erat, nisi ex superiore loco spectare concessit. Solis virginibus Vestalibus locum in theatro, separatim et contra praetoris tribunal, dedit. Athletarum vero spectaculo muliebre secus omne adeo summovit, ut pontificalibus ludis pugilum par postulatum distulerit in insequentis diei matutinum tempus, edixeritque, ‘ mulieres ante horam quintam venire in theatrum, non placere.’

45. Ipse circenses ex amicorum fere libertorumque cenaculis spectabat, interdum ex pulvinari, et quidem cum coniuge ac liberis sedens. Specta-

culo plurimas horas, aliquando totos dies aberat, petita venia commendatisque qui suam vicem praesidendo fungerentur. Verum quotiens adesset, nihil praeterea agebat, seu vitandi rumoris causa, quo patrem Caesarem vulgo reprehensum commemorabat, quod inter spectandum epistolis libellisque legendis aut rescribendis vacaret, seu studio spectandi ac voluptate, qua teneri se neque dissimulavit umquam et saepe ingenue professus est. Itaque corollaria et praemia in alienis quoque muneribus ac ludis et crebra et grandia de suo offerebat, nullique Graeco certamini interfuit, quo non pro merito quemque certantium honorarit. Spectavit autem studiosissime pugiles et maxime Latinos, non legitimos atque ordinarios modo, quos etiam committere cum Graecis solebat, sed et catervarios oppidanos, inter angustias vicorum pugnantis temere ac sine arte. Universum denique genus operas aliquas publico spectaculo praebentium etiam cura sua dignatus est: athletis et conservavit privilegia et ampliavit; gladiatores sine missione edi prohibuit; coercitionem in histriones magistratibus, omni tempore et loco lege vetere permissam, ademit praeterquam ludis et scaena. Nec tamen eo minus aut xysticorum certationes aut gladiatorum pugnas severissime semper exegit. Nam histrionum licentiam adeo compescuit, ut Stephanionem togatarium, cui in puerilem habitum circumtonsam matronam ministrasse compererat, per trina theatra virgis caesum relegaverit, Hylan pantomimum, querente praetore, in atrio domus suae nemine excluso flagellis verberarit, et Pyladen urbe atque Italia sum-

moverit, quod spectatorem, a quo exsibilabatur, demonstrasset digito conspicuumque fecisset.

46. Ad hunc modum urbe urbanisque rebus administratis, Italiam duodetriginta coloniarum numero, deductarum ab se, frequentavit operibusque ac vectigalibus publicis plurifariam instruxit, etiam iure ac dignatione urbi quodam modo pro parte aliqua adaequavit, excogitato genere suffragiorum, quae de magistratibus urbicis decuriones colonici in sua quisque colonia ferrent et sub die comitiorum obsignata Romam mitterent. Ac necubi aut honestorum deficeret copia aut multitudinis suboles, equestrem militiam petentis etiam ex commendatione publica cuiusque oppidi ordinabat; at iis, qui e plebe regiones sibi revisenti filios filiasve approbarent, singula nummorum milia pro singulis dividebat.

47. Provincias validiores et quas annuis magistratuum imperiis regi nec facile nec tutum erat, ipse suscepit, ceteras proconsulibus sortito permisit; et tamen nonnullas commutavit interdum atque ex utroque genere plerasque saepius adiit. Urbium quasdam, foederatas sed ad exitium licentia praecipites, libertate privavit, alias aut aere alieno laborantis levavit, aut terrae motu subversas denuo condidit, aut merita erga populum Romanum adlegantes Latinitate vel civitate donavit. Nec est, ut opinor, provincia, excepta dum taxat Africa et Sardinia, quam non adierit. In has fugato Sex. Pompeio traicere ex Sicilia apparantem continuae et immodicae tempestates inhibuerunt, nec mox occasio aut causa traiciendi fuit.

48. Regnorum quibus belli iure potitus est, prae-

ter pauca, aut isdem quibus ademerat reddidit, aut alienigenis contribuit. Reges socios etiam inter semet ipsos necessitudinibus mutuis iunxit, promptissimus affinitatis cuiusque atque amicitiae conciliator et fautor; nec aliter universos quam membra partisque imperii curae habuit, rectorem quoque solitus apponere aetate parvis aut mente lapsis, donec adolescerent aut resipiscerent; ac plurimorum liberos et educavit simul cum suis et instituit.

49. Ex militaribus copiis legiones et auxilia provinciatim distribuit, classem Miseni et alteram Ravennae ad tutelam Superi et Inferi Maris conlocavit, ceterum numerum partim in urbis partim in sui custodiam adlegit, dimissa Calagurritanorum manu, quam usque ad devictum Antonium, item Germanorum, quam usque ad cladem Varianam inter armigeros circa se habuerat. Neque tamen umquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus est easque sine castris, reliquas in hiberna et aestiva circa finitima oppida dimittere assuerat. Quidquid autem ubique militum esset, ad certam stipendiorum praemiorumque formulam adstrinxit, definitis pro gradu cuiusque et temporibus militiae et commodis missionum, ne aut aetate aut inopia post missionem sollicitari ad res novas possent. Utque perpetuo ac sine difficultate sumptus ad tuendos eos prosequendosque suppeteret, aerarium militare cum vectigalibus novis constituit.

Et quo celerius ac sub manum adnuntiari cognoscique posset, quid in provincia quaque gereretur, iuvenes primo modicis intervallis per militaris vias dehinc vehicula disposuit. Commodius id

visum est, ut qui a loco perferunt litteras, interrogari quoque, si quid res exigant, possint.

50. In diplomatibus libellisque et epistolis signandis initio sphinge usus est, mox imagine Magni Alexandri, novissime sua, Dioscuridis manu sculpta, qua signare insecuti quoque principes perseverarunt. Ad epistolas omnis horarum quoque momenta nec diei modo sed et noctis, quibus datae significarentur, addebat.

51. Clementiae civilitatisque eius multa et magna documenta sunt. Ne enumerem, quot et quos diversarum partium venia et incolumitate donatos principem etiam in civitate locum tenere passus sit: Iunium Novatum et Cassium Patavinum e plebe homines alterum pecunia, alterum levi exilio punire satis habuit, cum ille Agrippae iuvenis nomine asperrimam de se epistolam in vulgus edidisset, hic convivio pleno proclamasset, neque votum sibi neque animum deesse confodiendi eum. Quadam vero cognitione, cum Aemilio Aeliano Cordubensi inter cetera crimina vel maxime obiceretur quod male opinari de Caesare soleret, conversus ad accusatorem commotoque similis "Velim," inquit, "hoc mihi probes; faciam sciat Aelianus et me linguam habere, plura enim de eo loquar." Nec quicquam ultra aut statim aut postea inquisiit. Tiberio quoque de eadem re, sed violentius, apud se per epistolam conquerenti ita rescripsit: "Aetati tuae, mi Tiberi, noli in hac re indulgere et nimium indignari quemquam esse, qui de me male loquatur; satis est enim, si hoc habemus ne quis nobis male facere possit."

52. Templa, quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus

decerni solere, in nulla tamen provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit (nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore) atque etiam argenteas statuas olim sibi positas conflavit omnis exque iis aureas cortinas Apollini Palatino dedicavit.

Dictaturam magna vi offerente populo, genu nixus deiecta ab umeris toga nudo pectore deprecatus est.

53. Domini appellationem ut maledictum et obprobrium semper exhorruit. Cum, spectante eo ludos, pronuntiatum esset in mimo: "O dominum aequum et bonum!" et universi quasi de ipso dictum exsultantes comprobassent, et statim manu vultuque indecoras adulationes repressit et insequenti die gravissimo corripuit edicto; dominumque se posthac appellari ne a liberis quidem aut nepotibus suis vel serio vel ioco passus est, atque eius modi blanditias etiam inter ipsos prohibuit. Non temere urbe oppidove ullo egressus aut quoquam ingressus est nisi vespera aut noctu, ne quem officii causa inquietaret. In consulatu pedibus fere, extra consulatum saepe adaperta sella per publicum incessit. Promiscuis salutationibus admittebat et plebem, tanta comitate adeuntium desideria excipiens, ut quendam ioco corripuerit, quod 'sic sibi libellum porrigere dubitaret, quasi elephanto stipem.' Die senatus numquam patres nisi in curia salutavit et quidem sedentis, ac nominatim singulos nullo submonente; etiam discedens eodem modo sedentibus valere dicebat. Officia cum multis mutuo exercuit, nec prius dies cuiusque sollemnes frequentare desiit, quam grandi iam

natu et in turba quondam sponsaliorum die vexatus. Gallum Terrinium senatorem minus sibi familiarem, sed captum repente oculis et ob id inedia mori destinantem praesens consolando revocavit ad vitam.

54. In senatu verba facienti dictum est: "Non intellexi," et ab alio: "Contradicerem tibi, si locum haberem." Interdum ob immodicas disceptantium altercationes e curia per iram se proripienti quidam ingesserunt, licere oportere senatoribus de re publica loqui. Antistius Labeo senatus lectione, cum vir virum legeret, M. Lepidum hostem olim eius et tunc exsulantem legit, interrogatusque ab eo an essent alii digniores, 'suum quemque iudicium habere' respondit. Nec ideo libertas aut contumacia fraudi cuiquam fuit.

55. Etiam sparsos de se in curia famosos libellos nec expavit et magna cura redarguit ac ne requisitis quidem auctoribus, id modo censuit, cognoscendum posthac de iis, qui libellos aut carmina ad infamiam cuiuspiam sub alieno nomine edant.

56. Iocis quoque quorundam invidiosis aut petulantibus lacessitus, contradixit edicto. Et tamen ne de inhibenda testamentorum licentia quicquam constitueretur, intercessit. Quotiens magistratuum comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circuibat supplicabatque more sollemni. Ferebat et ipse suffragium in tribu, ut unus e populo. Testem se in iudiciis et interrogari et refelli, aequissimo animo patiebatur. Forum angustius fecit, non ausus extorquere possessoribus proximas domos. Numquam filios suos populo commendavit ut non adiceret: "Si merebuntur." Eisdem

praetextatis adhuc assurrectum ab universis in theatro et a stantibus plausum, gravissime questus est. Amicos ita magnos et potentes in civitate esse voluit ut tamen pari iure essent quo ceteri legibusque iudiciariis aeque tenerentur. Cum Asprenas Nonius artius ei iunctus causam veneficii, accusante Cassio Severo, diceret, consuluit senatum, 'quid officii sui putaret; cunctari enim se, ne si superesset, eripere legibus reum, sin deesset, destituere ac praedamnare amicum existimaretur;' et consentientibus universis sedit in subselliis per aliquot horas, verum tacitus et ne laudatione quidem iudiciali data. Affuit et clientibus, sicut Scutario cuidam, evocato quondam suo, qui postulabatur iniuriarum. Unum omnino e reorum numero, ac ne eum quidem nisi precibus eripuit, exorato coram iudicibus accusatore, Castricium, per quem de coniuratione Murenae cognoverat.

57. Pro quibus meritis quantopere dilectus sit, facile est aestimare. Omitto senatus consulta, quia possunt videri vel necessitate expressa vel verecundia. Equites Romani natalem eius sponte atque consensu biduo semper celebrarunt. Omnes ordines in lacum Curti quot annis ex voto pro salute eius stipem iaciebant, item Kal. Ian. strenam in Capitolio, etiam absenti, ex qua summa pretiosissima deorum simulacra mercatus, vicatim dedicabat, ut Apollinem Sandaliarium et Iovem Tragoedum aliaque. In restitutionem Palatinae domus incendio absumptae veterani, decuriae, tribus, atque etiam singillatim e cetero genere hominum libentes ac pro facultate quisque pecunias contulerunt, delibante tantum modo eo summarum acervos neque

ex quoquam plus denario auferente. Revertentem ex provincia non solum faustis ominibus, sed et modulatis carminibus prosequebantur. Observatum etiam est, ne quotiens introiret urbem, supplicium de quoquam sumeretur.

58. Patris Patriæ cognomen universi repentino maximoque consensu detulerunt ei: prima plebs, legatione Antium missa; dein, quia non recipiebat, ineunti Romae spectacula frequens et laureata; mox in curia senatus, neque decreto neque adclamatione, sed per Valerium Messalam. Is mandantibus cunctis, "Quod bonum," inquit, "faustumque sit tibi domuique tuae, Caesar Auguste! sic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem rei publicae et laeta huic urbi precari existimamus: senatus te consentiens cum populo Romano consalutat patriae patrem." Cui lacrimans respondit Augustus his verbis (ipsa enim, sicut Messalae, posui): "Compos factus votorum meorum, P. C. quid habeo aliud deos immortales precari, quam ut hunc consensum vestrum ad ultimum finem vitae mihi perferre liceat?"

59. Medico Antonio Musae cuius opera ex ancipiti morbo convaluerat, statuam aere conlato iuxta signum Aesculapi statuerunt. Nonnulli patrum familiarum testamento caverunt, ut ab heredibus suis praelato titulo victimae in Capitolium ducerentur votumque pro se solveretur, quod superstitem Augustum reliquissent. Quaedam Italiae civitates diem, quo primum ad se venisset, initium anni fecerunt. Provinciarum pleraeque super templa et aras ludos quoque quinquennales paene oppidatim constituerunt.

60. Reges amici atque socii et singuli in suo quisque regno Caesareas urbes condiderunt et cuncti simul aedem Iovis Olympii Athenis, antiquitus inchoatam, perficere communi sumptu destinaverunt Genioque eius dedicare ; ac saepe regnis relictis, non Romae modo sed et provincias peragranti cotidiana officia togati ac sine regio insigni, more clientium praestiterunt.

61. Quoniam, qualis in imperis ac magistratibus regendaque per terrarum orbem pace belloque re publica fuerit, exposui : referam nunc interiorem ac familiarem eius vitam, quibusque moribus atque fortuna domi et inter suos egerit a iuventa usque ad supremum vitae diem.

Matrem amisit in primo consulatu, sororem Octaviam quinquagensimum et quartum agens aetatis annum. Utrique cum praecipua officia vivae praestitisset, etiam defunctae honores maximos tribuit.

62. Sponsam habuerat adulescens P. Servili Isaurici filiam, sed reconciliatus post primam discordiam Antonio, expostulantibus utriusque militibus ut et necessitudine aliqua iungerentur, privignam eius Claudiam, Fulviae ex P. Clodio filiam, duxit uxorem vixdum nubilem, ac simultate cum Fulvia socru orta dimisit intactam adhuc et virginem. Mox Scriboniam in matrimonium accepit, nuptam ante duobus consularibus, ex altero etiam matrem. Cum hac quoque divortium fecit, pertaesus, ut scribit, morum perversitatem eius, ac statim Liviam Drusillam matrimonio Tiberi Neronis et quidem praegnantem abduxit, dilexitque et probavit unice ac perseveranter.

63. Ex Scribonia Iuliam, ex Livia nihil liberorum tulit, cum maxime cuperet. Infans, qui conceptus erat, immaturus est editus. Iuliam primum Marcello, Octaviae sororis suae filio tantum quod pueritiam egresso, deinde, ut is obiit, M. Agrippae nuptum dedit, exorata sorore, ut sibi genero cederet; nam tunc Agrippa alteram Marcellarum habebat et ex ea liberos. Hoc quoque defuncto, multis ac diu, etiam ex equestri ordine, circumspectis condicionibus, Tiberium privignum suum elegit coegitque praegnantem uxorem, et ex qua iam pater erat, dimittere. M. Antonius scribit, primum eum Antonio filio suo despondisse Iuliam, dein Cotisoni Getarum regi, quo tempore sibi quoque in vicem filiam regis in matrimonium petisset.

64. Nepotes ex Agrippa et Iulia tres habuit C. et L. et Agrippam, neptes duas Iuliam et Agrippinam. Iuliam L. Paulo censoris filio, Agrippinam Germanico sororis suae nepoti collocavit. Gaium et L. adoptavit, domi per assem et libram emptos a patre Agrippa, tenerosque adhuc ad curam rei publicae admovit et consules designatos circum provincias exercitusque dimisit. Filiam et neptes ita instituit ut etiam lanificio assuefaceret, vetaretque loqui aut agere quicquam nisi propalam et quod in diurnos commentarios referretur; extraneorum quidem coetu adeo prohibuit, ut L. Vicinio, claro decoroque iuveni, scripserit quondam, 'parum modeste fecisse eum, quod filiam suam Baias salutatum venisset.' Nepotes et litteras et notare aliaque rudimenta per se plerumque docuit ac nihil aeque elaboravit quam ut imitarentur chirographum suum; neque cenavit una, nisi ut in imo

lecto assiderent, neque iter fecit, nisi ut vehiculo anteirent aut circa adequitarent.

65. Sed laetum eum atque fidentem et subole et disciplina domus Fortuna destituit. Iulias, filiam et neptem, omnibus probris contaminatas relegavit; C. et L. in duodeviginti mensum spatio amisit ambos, Gaio in Lycia, Lucio Massiliae defunctis. Tertium nepotem Agrippam simulque privignum Tiberium adoptavit in foro lege curiata; ex quibus Agrippam brevi ob ingenium sordidum ac ferox abdicavit seposuitque Surrentum.

Aliquanto autem patientius mortem quam dedecora suorum tulit. Nam C. Lucique casu non adeo fractus, de filia absens ac libello per quaestorem recitato notum senatui fecit abstinuitque congressu hominum diu prae pudore, etiam de necanda deliberavit. Certe cum sub idem tempus una ex consciis liberta Phoebe suspendio vitam finisset, 'maluisse se,' ait, 'Phoebes patrem fuisse.' Relegatae usum vini omnemque delicatiorem cultum ademit neque adiri a quopiam libero servove, nisi se consulto, permisit, et ita ut certior fieret, qua is aetate, qua statura, quo colore esset, etiam quibus corporis notis vel cicatricibus. Post quinquennium demum ex insula in continentem lenioribusque paulo condicionibus transtulit eam. Nam ut omnino revocaret, exorari nullo modo potuit, deprecanti saepe populo Romano et pertinacius instanti tales filias talesque coniuges pro contione inprecatus. Ex nepte Iulia post damnationem editum infantem adgnosci alique vetuit. Agrippam nihilo tractabiliorem, immo in dies amentiorem in insulam transportavit sepsitque insuper

custodia militum. Cavit etiam senatus consultum ut eodem loci in perpetuum contineretur, atque ad omnem et eius et Iuliarum mentionem ingemiscens, proclamare etiam solebat:

Αἴθ' ὄφελον ἄγαμός τ' ἔμεναι ἄγονός τ' ἀπολέσθαι!

nec aliter eos appellare, quam tris vomicas ac tria carcinomata sua.

66. Amicitias neque facile admisit et constantissime retinuit, non tantum virtutes ac merita cuiusque digne prosecutus, sed vitia quoque et delicta, dumtaxat modica, perpessus. Neque enim temere ex omni numero in amicitia eius afflicti reperientur praeter Salvidienum Rufum, quem ad consulatum usque, et Cornelium Gallum, quem ad praefecturam Aegypti, ex infima utrumque fortuna provexerat. Quorum alterum res novas molientem damnandum senatui tradidit, alteri ob ingratum et malivolum animum domo et provinciis suis interdixit. Sed Gallo quoque et accusatorum denuntiationibus et senatus consultis ad necem conpulso, laudavit quidem pietatem tantopere pro se indignantium, ceterum et inlacrimavit et vicem suam conquestus est, 'quod sibi soli non liceret amicis, quatenus vellet, irasci.' Reliqui potentia atque opibus ad finem vitae sui quisque ordinis principes floruerunt, quanquam et offensis intervenientibus. Desideravit enim nonnumquam, ne de pluribus referam, et M. Agrippae patientiam et Maecenatis taciturnitatem, cum ille ex levi frigoris suspicione et quod Marcellus sibi anteferretur, Mytilenas se relictis omnibus contulisset, hic secretum de comperta Murenae coniuratione uxori Terentiae prodidisset.

Exegit et ipse in vicem ab amicis benevolentiam mutuam, tam a defunctis quam a vivis. Nam quamvis minime appeteret hereditates, ut qui numquam ex ignoti testamento capere quicquam sustinuerit, amicorum tamen suprema iudicia morosissime pensitavit, neque dolore dissimulato, si parcius aut citra honorem verborum, neque gaudio, si grate pieque quis se prosecutus fuisset. Legata vel partes hereditatium, a quibuscumque parentibus relicta sibi, aut statim liberis eorum concedere, aut si pupillari aetate essent, die virilis togae vel nuptiarum cum incremento restituere consuerat.

67. Patronus dominusque non minus severus quam facilis et clemens, multos libertorum in honore et usu maximo habuit, ut Licinum et Celadum aliosque. Cosmum servum, gravissime de se opinantem non ultra quam compedibus coercuit. Diomeden dispensatorem a quo simul ambulante incurrenti repente fero apro per metum obiectus est, maluit timiditatis arguere quam noxae, remque non minimi periculi, quia tamen fraus aberat, in iocum vertit. Idem Polum ex acceptissimis libertis mori coegit compertum adulterare matronas; Thallo a manu, quod pro epistola prodita denarios quingentos accepisset, crura ei fregit; paedagogum ministrosque Gai fili, per occasionem valitudinis mortisque eius superbe avareque in provincia grassatos, oneratos gravi pondere cervicibus praecipitavit in flumen.

69. Adulteria quidem exercuisse ne amici quidem negant, excusantes sane non libidine, sed ratione commissa, quo facilius consilia adversariorum per cuiusque mulieres exquireret.

70. Cena quoque eius secretior in fabulis fuit, quae vulgo *δωδεκάθεος* vocabatur; in qua deorum dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas et ipsum pro Apolline ornatum, non Antoni modo epistolae singulorum nomina amarissime enumerantis exprobrant, sed et sine auctore notissimi versus:

> Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum,
> Sexque deos vidit Mallia sexque deas;
> Impia dum Phoebi Caesar mendacia ludit,
> Dum nova divorum cenat adulteria:
> Omnia se a terris tunc numina declinarunt,
> Fugit et auratos Iuppiter ipse thronos.

Auxit cenae rumorem summa tunc in civitate penuria ac fames, adclamatumque est postridie, 'omne frumentum deos comedisse et Caesarem esse plane Apollinem, sed Tortorem:' quo cognomine is deus quadam in parte urbis colebatur. Notatus est et ut pretiosae supellectilis Corinthiorumque praecupidus, et aleae indulgens. Nam et proscriptionis tempore ad statuam eius ascriptum est:

> Pater argentarius, ego Corinthiarius,

cum existimaretur quosdam propter vasa Corinthia inter proscriptos curasse referendos; et deinde bello Siciliensi epigramma vulgatum est:

> Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,
> Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.

71. Ex quibus sive criminibus sive maledictis infamiam impudicitiae facillime refutavit et praesentis et posterae vitae castitate; item lautitiarum invidiam, cum et Alexandria capta nihil sibi praeter unum murrinum calicem ex instrumento regio retinuerit, et mox vasa aurea assiduissimi usus con-

flaverit omnia. Aleae rumorem nullo modo expavit, lusitque simpliciter et palam oblectamenti causa etiam senex, ac, praeterquam Decembri mense, aliis quoque festis et profestis diebus. Nec id dubium est. Autographa quadam epistula "Cenavi," ait, "mi Tiberi, cum isdem; accesserunt convivae Vinicius et Silius pater. Inter cenam lusimus geronticos et heri et hodie; talis enim iactatis, ut quisque canem aut senionem miserat, in singulos talos singulos denarios in medium conferebat, quos tollebat universos, qui Venerem iecerat." Et rursus aliis litteris: "Nos, mi Tiberi, Quinquatrus satis iucunde egimus; lusimus enim per omnis dies forumque aleatorium calfecimus. Frater tuus magnis clamoribus rem gessit; ad summam tamen perdidit non multum, sed ex magnis detrimentis praeter spem paulatim retractus est. Ego perdidi viginti milia nummum meo nomine, sed cum effuse in lusu liberalis fuissem, ut soleo plerumque. Nam si quas manus remisi cuique exegissem, aut retinuissem quod cuique donavi, vicissem vel quinquaginta milia. Sed hoc malo; benignitas enim mea me ad caelestem gloriam efferet." Scribit ad filiam: "Misi tibi denarios ducentos quinquaginta, quos singulis convivis dederam, si vellent inter se inter cenam vel talis vel par impar ludere."

72. In ceteris partibus vitae continentissimum fuisse constat ac sine suspicione ullius vitii. Habitavit primo iuxta Romanum forum, supra Scalas Anularias, in domo quae Calvi oratoris fuerat; postea in Palatio, sed nihilo minus aedibus modicis Hortensianis, et neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis, ut in quibus porticus breves essent Albanarum co-

lumnarum, et sine marmore ullo aut insigni pavimento conclavia. Ac per annos amplius quadraginta eodem cubiculo hieme et aestate mansit, quamvis parum salubrem valitudini suae urbem hieme experiretur, assidueque in urbe hiemarat. Si quando quid secreto aut sine interpellatione agere proposuisset, erat illi locus in edito singularis, quem Syracusas et technophyon vocabat: huc transibat, aut in alicuius libertorum suburbanum; aeger autem in domo Maecenatis cubabat. Ex secessibus praecipue frequentavit maritima insulasque Campaniae, aut proxima urbi oppida, Lanuvium, Praeneste, Tibur, ubi etiam in porticibus Herculis templi persaepe ius dixit. Ampla et operosa praetoria gravabatur. Et neptis quidem suae Iuliae, profuse ab ea exstructa, etiam diruit ad solum, sua vero quamvis modica non tam statuarum tabularumque pictarum ornatu, quam xystis et nemoribus excoluit rebusque vetustate ac raritate notabilibus: qualia sunt Capreis immanium belluarum ferarumque membra praegrandia, quae dicuntur Gigantum ossa et arma Heroum.

73. Instrumenti eius et supellectilis parsimonia apparet etiam nunc residuis lectis atque mensis, quorum pleraque vix privatae elegantiae sint. Ne toro quidem cubuisse aiunt nisi humili et modice instrato. Veste non temere alia quam domestica usus est, ab sorore et uxore et filia neptibusque confecta; togis neque restrictis neque fusis, clavo nec lato nec angusto, calciamentis altiusculis, ut procerior quam erat videretur. Et forensia autem et calceos numquam non intra cubiculum habuit ad subitos repentinosque casus parata.

74. Convivabatur assidue nec umquam nisi recta, non sine magno ordinum hominumque dilectu. Valerius Messala tradit, neminem umquam libertinorum adhibitum ab eo cenae excepto Mena, sed asserto in ingenuitatem post proditam Sexti Pompei classem. Ipse scribit, invitasse se quendam, in cuius villa maneret, qui speculator suus olim fuisset. Convivia nonnumquam et serius inibat et maturius relinquebat, cum convivae et cenare inciperent prius quam ille discumberet, et permanerent digresso eo. Cenam ternis ferculis, aut cum abundantissime senis praebebat, ut non nimio sumptu, ita summa comitate. Nam et ad communionem sermonis tacentis vel summissim fabulantis provocabat, et aut acroamata et histriones aut etiam triviales ex circo ludios interponebat ac frequentius aretalogos.

75. Festos et sollemnes dies profusissime, nonnumquam tantum iocvenlariter celebrabat. Saturnalibus, et si quando alias libuisset, modo munera dividebat, vestem et aurum et argentum, modo nummos omnis notae, etiam veteres regios ac peregrinos, interdum nihil praeter cilicia et spongias et rutabula et forpices atque alia id genus, titulis obscuris et ambiguis. Solebat et inaequalissimarum rerum sortes et aversas tabularum picturas in convivio venditare incertoque casu spem mercantium vel frustrari vel explere, ita ut per singulos lectos licitatio fieret et seu iactura seu lucrum communicaretur.

76. Cibi (nam ne haec quidem omiserim) minimi erat atque vulgaris fere. Secundarium panem et pisciculos minutos et caseum bubulum manu pres-

sum et ficos virides biferas maxime appetebat; vescebaturque et ante cenam quocumque tempore et loco, quo stomachus desiderasset. Verba ipsius ex epistolis sunt: "Nos in essedo panem et palmulas gustavimus." Et iterum: "Dum lectica ex regia domum redeo, panis unciam cum paucis acinis uvae duracinae comedi." Et rursus: "Ne Iudaeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis ieiunium servat quam ego hodie servavi, qui in balineo demum post horam primam noctis duas bucceas manducavi prius quam ungui inciperem." Ex hac inobservantia nonnumquam vel ante initum vel post dimissum convivium solus cenitabat, cum pleno convivio nihil tangeret.

77. Vini quoque natura parcissimus erat. Non amplius ter bibere eum solitum super cenam in castris apud Mutinam, Cornelius Nepos tradit. Postea quotiens largissime se invitaret, senos sextantes non excessit, aut si excessisset, reiciebat. Et maxime delectatus est Raetico, neque temere interdiu bibit. Pro potione sumebat perfusum aqua frigida panem, aut cucumeris frustum vel lactuculae thyrsum, aut recens aridumve pomum suci vinosioris.

78. Post cibum meridianum, ita ut vestitus calciatusque erat, retectis pedibus paulisper conquiescebat, opposita ad oculos manu. A cena in lecticulam se lucubratoriam recipiebat; ibi, donec residua diurni actus aut omnia aut ex maxima parte conficeret, ad multam noctem permanebat. In lectum inde transgressus, non amplius cum plurimum quam septem horas dormiebat, ac ne eas quidem continuas, sed ut in illo temporis spatio

ter aut quater expergisceretur. Si interruptum somnum reciperare, ut evenit, non posset, lectoribus aut fabulatoribus arcessitis resumebat, producebatque ultra primam saepe lucem. Nec in tenebris vigilavit umquam nisi assidente aliquo. Matutina vigilia offendebatur; ac si vel officii vel sacri causa maturius evigilandum esset, ne id contra commodum faceret, in proximo cuiuscumque domesticorum cenaculo manebat. Sic quoque saepe indigens somni, et dum per vicos deportaretur et deposita lectica inter aliquas moras condormiebat.

79. Forma fuit eximia et per omnes aetatis gradus venustissima; quamquam et omnis lenocinii neglegens et in capite comendo tam incuriosus, ut raptim compluribus simul tonsoribus operam daret, ac modo tonderet modo raderet barbam, eoque ipso tempore aut legeret aliquid aut etiam scriberet. Vultu erat vel in sermone vel tacitus adeo tranquillo serenoque, ut quidam e primoribus Galliarum confessus sit inter suos, eo se inhibitum ac remollitum, quo minus, ut destinarat, in transitu Alpium per simulationem conloquii propius admissus, in praecipitium propelleret. Oculos habuit claros ac nitidos, quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris, gaudebatque, si qui sibi acrius contuenti quasi ad fulgorem solis vultum summitteret; sed in senecta sinistro minus vidit; dentes raros et exiguos et scabros; capillum leviter inflexum et subflavum; supercilia coniuncta; mediocres aures; nasum et a summo eminentiorem et ab imo deductiorem; colorem inter aquilum candidumque; staturam brevem, (quam tamen Iulius

Marathus, libertus et a memoria eius, quinque pedum et dodrantis fuisse tradit) sed quae commoditate et aequitate membrorum occuleretur, ut nonnisi ex comparatione astantis alicuius procerioris intellegi posset.

80. Corpore traditur maculoso, dispersis per pectus atque alvum genetivis notis in modum et ordinem ac numerum stellarum caelestis ursae, sed et callis quibusdam, ex prurigine corporis adsiduoque et vehementi strigilis usu plurifariam concretis ad impetiginis formam. Coxendice et femore et crure sinistro non perinde valebat, ut saepe etiam inclaudicaret; sed remedio habenarum atque harundinum confirmabatur. Dextrae quoque manus digitum salutarem tam imbecillum interdum sentiebat, ut torpentem contractumque frigore vix cornei circuli supplemento scripturae admoveret. Questus est et de vesica, cuius dolore calculis demum per urinam eiectis levabatur.

81. Graves et periculosas valetudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est; praecipue Cantabria domita, cum etiam distillationibus iocinere vitiato ad desperationem redactus, contrariam et ancipitem rationem medendi necessario subiit: quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus auctore Antonio Musa.

Quasdam et anniversarias ac tempore certo recurrentes experiebatur; nam sub natalem suum plerumque languebat; et initio veris praecordiorum inflatione temptabatur, austrinis autem tempestatibus gravedine. Quare quassato corpore, neque frigora neque aestus facile tolerabat.

82. Hieme quaternis cum pingui toga tunicis et

subucula et thorace laneo et feminalibus et tibialibus muniebatur, aestate apertis cubiculi foribus, ac saepe in peristylo saliente aqua atque etiam ventilante aliquo cubabat. Solis vero ne hiberni quidem patiens, domi quoque nonnisi petasatus sub divo spatiabatur. Itinera lectica et noctibus fere, eaque lenta ac minuta faciebat, ut Praeneste vel Tibur biduo procederet; ac si quo pervenire mari posset, potius navigabat. Verum tantam infirmitatem magna cura tuebatur, in primis lavandi raritate (unguebatur enim saepius). Aut sudabat ad flammam, deinde perfundebatur egelida aqua vel sole multo tepefacta; aut quotiens nervorum causa marinis albulisque calidis utendum esset, contentus hoc erat ut insidens ligneo solio, quod ipse Hispanico verbo *duretam* vocabat, manus ac pedes alternis iactaret.

83. Exercitationes campestres equorum et armorum statim post civilia bella omisit et ad pilam primo folliculumque transiit, mox nihil aliud quam vectabatur et deambulabat, ita ut in extremis spatiis subsultim decurreret, segestria vel lodicula involutus. Animi laxandi causa modo piscabatur hamo, modo talis aut ocellatis nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis, quos facie et garrulitate amabilis undique conquirebat, praecipue Mauros et Syros. Nam pumilos atque distortos et omnis generis eiusdem, ut ludibria naturae malique ominis abhorrebat.

84. Eloquentiam studiaque liberalia ab aetate prima et cupide et laboriosissime exercuit. Mutinensi bello in tanta mole rerum et legisse et scripsisse et declamasse cotidie traditur. Nam deinceps

neque in senatu neque apud populum neque apud milites locutus est umquam nisi meditata et composita oratione, quamvis non deficeretur ad subita extemporali facultate. Ac ne periculum memoriae adiret aut in ediscendo tempus absumeret, instituit recitare omnia. Sermones quoque cum singulis atque etiam cum Livia sua graviores nonnisi scriptos et e libello habebat, ne plus minusve loqueretur ex tempore. Pronuntiabat dulci et proprio quodam oris sono, dabatque assidue phonasco operam; sed nonnumquam, infirmatis faucibus, praeconis voce ad populum concionatus est.

85. Multa varii generis prosa oratione composuit, ex quibus nonnulla in coetu familiarium velut in auditorio recitavit, sicut *Rescripta Bruto de Catone*, quae volumina cum iam senior ex magna parte legisset, fatigatus Tiberio tradidit perlegenda; item *Hortationes ad Philosophiam*, et aliqua *De Vita Sua*, quam tredecim libris Cantabrico tenus bello nec ultra, exposuit. Poetica summatim attigit. Unus liber exstat, scriptus ab eo hexametris versibus, cuius et argumentum et titulus est *Sicilia;* exstat alter aeque modicus *Epigrammatum*, quae fere tempore balinei meditabatur. Nam tragoediam magno impetu exorsus, non succedenti stilo, abolevit quaerentibusque amicis, quidnam Aiax ageret, respondit, Aiacem suum in spongeam incubuisse.

86. Genus eloquendi secutus est elegans et temperatum, vitatis sententiarum ineptiis atque concinnitate et 'reconditorum verborum,' ut ipse dicit, 'foetoribus;' praecipuamque curam duxit, sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere. Quod quo facilius efficeret aut necubi lectorem vel auditorem

obturbaret ac moraretur, neque praepositiones urbibus addere neque coniunctiones saepius iterare dubitavit, quae detractae afferunt aliquid obscuritatis, etsi gratiam augent. Cacozelos et antiquarios, ut diverso genere vitiosos, pari fastidio sprevit, exagitabatque nonnumquam; in primis Maecenatem suum, cuius "myrobrechis," ut ait, "cincinnos" usque quaque persequitur et imitando per iocum irridet. Sed nec Tiberio parcit et exsoletas interdum et reconditas voces aucupanti. M. quidem Antonium ut insanum increpat, quasi ea scribentem, quae mirentur potius homines quam intellegant; deinde ludens malum et inconstans in eligendo genere dicendi ingenium eius, addit haec: "Tuque dubitas, Cimberne Annius an Veranius Flaccus imitandi sint tibi, ita ut verbis, quae Crispus Sallustius excerpsit ex Originibus Catonis, utaris? an potius Asiaticorum oratorum inanis sententiis verborum volubilitas in nostrum sermonem transferenda?" Et quadam epistola Agrippinae neptis ingenium conlaudans, "Sed opus est," inquit, "dare te operam, ne moleste scribas et loquaris."

87. Cotidiano sermone quaedam frequentius et notabiliter usurpasse eum, litterae ipsius autographae ostentant, in quibus identidem, cum aliquos numquam soluturos significare vult, 'ad Kal. Graecas soluturos' ait; et cum hortatur ferenda esse praesentia, qualiacumque sint, "Contenti simus hoc Catone;" et ad exprimendam festinatae rei velocitatem, "celerius quam asparagi cocuntur;" ponit assidue et pro stulto "baceolum" pro pullo "pulleiaceum," et pro cerrito "vacerrosum," et "va-

pide" se habere pro male, et "betizare" pro languere, quod vulgo "lachanizare" dicitur; item "simus" pro sumus, et "domos" genitivo casu singulari pro domus. Nec umquam aliter haec duo, ne quis mendam magis quam consuetudinem putet.

Notavi et in chirographo eius illa praecipue: non dividit verba nec ab extrema parte versuum abundantis litteras in alterum transfert, sed ibidem statim subicit circumducitque.

88. Orthographiam, id est formulam rationemque scribendi a grammaticis institutam, non adeo custodit ac videtur eorum potius sequi opinionem, qui perinde scribendum ac loquamur existiment. Nam quod saepe non litteras modo sed syllabas aut permutat aut praeterit, communis hominum error est. Nec ego id notarem, nisi mihi mirum videretur tradidisse aliquos, legato eum consulari successorem dedisse ut rudi et indocto, cuius manu "ixi" pro ipsi scriptum animadverterit. Quotiens autem per notas scribit, B pro A, C pro B ac deinceps eadem ratione sequentis litteras ponit; pro X autem duplex A.

89. Ne Graecarum quidem disciplinarum leviore studio tenebatur. In quibus et ipsis praestabat largiter, magistro dicendi usus Apollodoro Pergameno, quem iam grandem natu Apolloniam quoque secum ab urbe iuvenis adhuc eduxerat, deinde eruditione etiam varia repletus per Arei philosophi filiorumque eius Dionysi et Nicanoris contubernium; non tamen ut aut loqueretur expedite aut componere aliquid auderet; nam et si quid res exigeret, Latine formabat vertendumque alii dabat.

Sed plane poematum quoque non imperitus, delectabatur etiam comoedia veteri et saepe eam exhibuit spectaculis publicis. In evolvendis utriusque linguae auctoribus nihil aeque sectabatur, quam praecepta et exempla publice vel privatim salubria, eaque ad verbum excerpta aut ad domesticos aut ad exercituum provinciarumque rectores aut ad urbis magistratus plerumque mittebat, prout quique monitione indigerent. Etiam libros totos et senatui recitavit et populo notos per edictum saepe fecit, ut orationes Q. Metelli *De Prole Augenda* et Rutili *De Modo Aedificiorum*, quo magis persuaderet utramque rem non ab se primo animadversam, sed antiquis iam tunc curae fuisse.

Ingenia saeculi sui omnibus modis fovit; recitantis et benigne et patienter audiit, nec tantum carmina et historias, sed et orationes et dialogos. Componi tamen aliquid de se nisi et serio et a praestantissimis, offendebatur admonebatque praetores, ne paterentur nomen suum commissionibus obsolefieri.

90. Circa religiones talem accepimus. Tonitrua et fulgura paulo infirmius expavescebat, ut semper et ubique pellem vituli marini circumferret pro remedio, atque ad omnem maioris tempestatis suspicionem in abditum et concamaratum locum se reciperet, consternatus olim per nocturnum iter transcursu fulguris, ut praediximus.

91. Somnia neque sua neque aliena de se neglegebat. Philippensi acie quamvis statuisset non egredi tabernaculo propter valitudinem, egressus est tamen amici somnio monitus; cessitque res prospere, quando captis castris lectica eius, quasi

ibi cubans remansisset, concursu hostium confossa atque lacerata est. Ipse per omne ver plurima et formidulosissima et vana et irrita videbat, reliquo tempore rariora et minus vana. Cum dedicatam in Capitolio aedem Tonanti Iovi assidue frequentaret, somniavit, queri Capitolinum Iovem cultores sibi abduci, seque respondisse, Tonantem pro ianitore ei appositum; ideoque mox tintinnabulis fastigium aedis redimiit, quod ea fere ianuis dependebant. Ex nocturno visu etiam stipem quot annis die certo emendicabat a populo, cavam manum asses porrigentibus praebens.

92. Auspicia et omina quaedam pro certissimis observabat: si mane sibi calceus perperam ac sinister pro dextro induceretur, ut dirum; si terra marive ingrediente se longinquam profectionem forte rorasset, ut laetum maturique et prosperi reditus. Sed et ostentis praecipue movebatur. Enatam inter iuncturas lapidum ante domum suam palmam in compluvium deorum Penatium transtulit, utque coalesceret magno opere curavit. Apud insulam Capreas veterrimae ilicis demissos iam ad terram languentisque ramos convaluisse adventu suo, adeo laetatus est, ut eas cum re publica Neapolitanorum permutaverit, Aenaria data. Observabat et dies quosdam, ne aut postridie nundinas quoquam proficisceretur, aut Nonis quicquam rei seriae inchoaret; nihil in hoc quidem aliud devitans, ut ad Tiberium scribit, quam *δυσφημίαν* nominis.

93. Peregrinarum caerimoniarum sicut veteres ac praeceptas reverentissime coluit, ita ceteras contemptui habuit. Namque Athenis initiatus, cum

postea Romae pro tribunali de privilegio sacerdotum Atticae Cereris cognosceret et quaedam secretiora proponerentur, dimisso consilio et corona circumstantium solus audiit disceptantes. At contra non modo in peragranda Aegypto paulo deflectere ad visendum Apin supersedit, sed et Gaium nepotem, quod Iudaeam praetervehens apud Hierosolyma non supplicasset, conlaudavit.

94. Et quoniam ad haec ventum est, non ab re fuerit subtexere, quae ei prius quam nasceretur et ipso natali die ac deinceps evenerint, quibus futura magnitudo eius et perpetua felicitas sperari animadvertique posset.

Velitris antiquitus tacta de caelo parte muri, responsum est eius oppidi civem quandoque rerum potiturum; qua fiducia Veliterni et tunc statim et postea saepius paene ad exitium sui cum populo Romano belligeraverant; sero tandem documentis apparuit, ostentum illud Augusti potentiam portendisse.

Auctor est Iulius Marathus, ante paucos quam nasceretur menses prodigium Romae factum publice, quo denuntiabatur, regem Populo Romano naturam parturire; senatum exterritum censuisse, ne quis illo anno genitus educaretur; eos qui gravidas uxores haberent, quod ad se quisque spem traheret, curasse ne senatus consultum ad aerarium deferretur.

In Asclepiadis Mendetis *Theologumenon* libris lego, Atiam, cum ad sollemne Apollinis sacrum media nocte venisset, posita in templo lectica, dum ceterae matronae dormirent, obdormisse; draconem repente irrepsisse ad eam pauloque post

egressum; illam expergefactam quasi a concubitu mariti purificasse se; et statim in corpore eius exstitisse maculam velut picti draconis, nec potuisse umquam exigi, adeo ut mox publicis balineis perpetuo abstinuerit; Augustum natum mense decimo et ob hoc Apollinis filium existimatum. Eadem Atia prius quam pareret somniavit, intestina sua ferri ad sidera explicarique per omnem terrarum et caeli ambitum. Somniavit et pater Octavius, utero Atiae iubar solis exortum.

Quo natus est die, cum de Catilinae coniuratione ageretur in curia et Octavius ob uxoris puerperium serius affuisset, nota ac vulgata res est P. Nigidium, comperta morae causa, ut horam quoque partus acceperit, affirmasse dominum terrarum orbi natum. Octavio postea, cum per secreta Thraciae exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris luco barbara caerimonia de filio consulenti, idem affirmatum est a sacerdotibus, quod infuso super altaria mero tantum flammae emicuisset, ut supergressa fastigium templi ad caelum usque ferretur, unique omnino Magno Alexandro apud easdem aras sacrificanti simile provenisset ostentum. Atque etiam sequenti statim nocte videre visus est filium mortali specie ampliorem, cum fulmine et sceptro exuviisque Iovis Optimi Maximi ac radiata corona, super laureatum currum, bis senis equis candore eximio trahentibus. Infans adhuc, ut scriptum apud C. Drusum exstat, repositus vespere in cunas a nutricula loco plano, postera luce non comparuit, diuque quaesitus tandem in altissima turri repertus est, iacens contra solis exortum.

Cum primum fari coepisset, in avito suburbano

obstrepentis forte ranas silere iussit, atque ex eo negantur ibi ranae coaxare. Ad quartum lapidem Campanae viae in nemore prandenti ex inproviso aquila panem ei e manu rapuit, et cum altissime evolasset, rursus ex inproviso leniter delapsa reddidit.

Q. Catulus post dedicatum Capitolium duabus continuis noctibus somniavit: prima, Iovem Optimum Maximum e praetextatis compluribus circum aram ludentibus unum secrevisse, atque in eius sinum rem publicam quam manu gestaret reposuisse; at insequenti, animadvertisse se in gremio Capitolini Iovis eundem puerum, quem cum detrahi iussisset, prohibitum monitu dei, tamquam is ad tutelam rei publicae educaretur; ac die proximo obvium sibi Augustum, cum incognitum alias haberet, non sine admiratione contuitus, simillimum dixit puero, de quo somniasset. Quidam prius somnium Catuli aliter exponunt, quasi Iuppiter compluribus praetextatis tutorem a se poscentibus, unum ex eis demonstrasset ad quem omnia desideria sua referrent, eiusque osculum delibatum digitis ad os suum rettulisset.

M. Cicero C. Caesarem in Capitolium prosecutus, somnium pristinae noctis familiaribus forte narrabat: puerum facie liberali, demissum e caelo catena aurea, ad fores Capitoli constitisse eique Iovem flagellum tradidisse; deinde repente Augusto viso, quem ignotum plerisque adhuc avunculus Caesar ad sacrificandum acciverat, affirmavit ipsum esse, cuius imago secundum quietem sibi observata sit.

Sumenti virilem togam tunica lati clavi, resuta

ex utraque parte, ad pedes decidit. Fuerunt qui interpretarentur, non aliud significare, quam ut is ordo cuius insigne id esset quandoque ei subiceretur.

Apud Mundam Divus Iulius, castris locum capiens cum silvam caederet, arborem palmae repertam conservari ut omen victoriae iussit; ex ea continuo enata suboles adeo in paucis diebus adolevit, ut non aequiperaret modo matricem, verum et obtegeret frequentareturque columbarum nidis, quamvis id avium genus duram et asperam frondem maxime vitet. Illo et praecipue ostento motum Caesarem ferunt, ne quem alium sibi succedere quam sororis nepotem vellet.

In secessu Apolloniae Theogenis mathematici pergulam comite Agrippa ascenderat; cum Agrippae, qui prior consulebat, magna et paene incredibilia praedicarentur, reticere ipse genituram suam nec velle edere perseverabat, metu ac pudore ne minor inveniretur. Qua tamen post multas adhortationes vix et cunctanter edita, exsilivit Theogenes adoravitque eum. Tantam mox fiduciam fati Augustus habuit, ut thema suum vulgaverit nummumque argenteum nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus est, percusserit.

95. Post necem Caesaris reverso ab Apollonia et ingrediente eo urbem, repente liquido ac puro sereno circulus ad speciem caelestis arcus orbem solis ambiit, ac subinde Iuliae Caesaris filiae monimentum fulmine ictum est. Primo autem consulatu et augurium capienti duodecim se vultures ut Romulo ostenderunt, et immolanti omnium victimarum iocinera replicata intrinsecus ab ima fibra

paruerunt, nemine peritorum aliter coiectante quam laeta per haec et magna portendi.

96. Quin et bellorum omnium eventus ante praesensit. Contractis ad Bononiam triumvirorum copiis, aquila tentorio eius supersedens duos corvos hinc et inde infestantis afflixit et ad terram dedit; notante omni exercitu, futuram quandoque inter collegas discordiam talem qualis secuta est, et exitum praesagiente. Philippis Thessalus quidam de futura victoria nuntiavit auctore Divo Caesare, cuius sibi species itinere avio occurrisset.

Circa Perusiam, sacrificio non litanti cum augeri hostias imperasset, ac subita eruptione hostes omnem rei divinae apparatum abstulissent, constitit inter haruspices, quae periculosa et adversa sacrificanti denuntiata essent, cuncta in ipsos recasura qui exta haberent; neque aliter evenit. Pridie quam Siciliensem pugnam classe committeret, deambulanti in litore piscis e mari exsilivit et ad pedes iacuit. Apud Actium descendenti in aciem asellus cum asinario occurrit, homini Eutychus, bestiae Nicon erat nomen; utriusque simulacrum aeneum victor posuit in templo, in quod castrorum suorum locum vertit.

97. Mors quoque eius, de qua hinc dicam, divinitasque post mortem evidentissimis ostentis praecognita est. Cum lustrum in campo Martio magna populi frequentia conderet, aquila eum saepius circumvolavit, transgressaque in vicinam aedem super nomen Agrippae ad primam litteram sedit; quo animadverso vota, quae in proximum lustrum suscipi mos est, collegam suum Tiberium nuncupare iussit: nam se, quanquam conscriptis paratis-

que iam tabulis, negavit suscepturum quae non esset soluturus. Sub idem tempus ictu fulminis ex inscriptione statuae eius prima nominis littera effluxit; responsum est, centum solos dies posthac victurum, quem numerum C littera notaret, futurumque ut inter deos referretur, quod *aesar*, id est reliqua pars e Caesaris nomine, Etrusca lingua deus vocaretur.

Tiberium igitur in Illyricum dimissurus et Beneventum usque prosecuturus, cum interpellatores aliis atque aliis causis in iure dicendo detinerent, exclamavit, quod et ipsum mox inter omina relatum est, 'non, si omnia morarentur, amplius se posthac Romae futurum;' atque itinere inchoato Asturam perrexit, et inde, praeter consuetudinem de nocte, ad occasionem aurae evectus causam valitudinis contraxit ex profluvio alvi.

98. Tunc Campaniae ora proximisque insulis circuitis, Caprearum quoque secessui quadriduum impendit, remississimo ad otium et ad omnem comitatem animo.

Forte Puteolanum sinum praetervehenti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina, quae tantum quod appulerat, candidati coronatique et tura libantes fausta omina et eximias laudes congesserant, 'per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui.' Qua re admodum exhilaratus, quadragenos aureos comitibus divisit iusque iurandum et cautionem exegit a singulis, non alio datam summam quam in emptionem Alexandrinarum mercium absumpturos. Sed et ceteros continuos dies inter varia munuscula togas insuper ac pallia distribuit, lege proposita ut Romani Graeco,

Graeci Romano habitu et sermone uterentur. Spectavit assidue exercentes ephebos, quorum aliqua adhuc copia ex vetere instituto Capreis erat; isdem etiam epulum in conspectu suo praebuit, permissa, immo exacta iocandi licentia diripiendique pomorum et obsoniorum rerumque missilia. Nullo denique genere hilaritatis abstinuit.

Vicinam Capreis insulam Apragopolim appellabat, a desidia secedentium illuc e comitatu suo. Sed ex dilectis unum, Masgaban nomine, quasi conditorem insulae *κτίστην* vocare consuerat. Huius Masgabae ante annum defuncti tumulum cum e triclinio animadvertisset magna turba multisque luminibus frequentari, versum compositum ex tempore clare pronuntiavit:

Κτίστου δὲ τύμβον εἰσορῶ πυρούμενον

conversusque ad Thrasylum Tiberi comitem, contra accubantem et ignarum rei, interrogavit cuiusnam poetae putaret esse; quo haesitante, subiecit alium:

Ὁρᾷς φάεσσι Μασγάβαν τιμώμενον;

ac de hoc quoque consuluit. Cum ille nihil aliud responderet quam, cuiuscumque essent optimos esse, cachinnum sustulit atque in iocos effusus est. Mox Neapolim traiecit, quanquam etiam tum infirmis intestinis morbo variante; tamen et quinquennale certamen gymnicum honori suo institutum perspectavit et cum Tiberio ad destinatum locum contendit. Sed in redeundo adgravata valitudine, tandem Nolae succubuit revocatumque ex itinere Tiberium diu secreto sermone detinuit, neque post ulli maiori negotio animum accomodavit.

99. Supremo die identidem exquirens, an iam de se tumultus foris esset, petito speculo, capillum sibi comi ac malas labantes corrigi praecepit, et admissos amicos percontatus, 'ecquid iis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse,' adiecit et clausulam:

εἰ δέ τι
ἔχοι καλῶς τὸ παίγνιον, κρότον δότε
καὶ παντες ἡμᾶς μετὰ χαρᾶς προπέμψατε.

Omnibus deinde dimissis, dum advenientes ab urbe de Drusi filia aegra interrogat, repente in osculis Liviae et in hac voce defecit: "Livia, nostri coniugi memor vive, ac vale!" sortitus exitum facilem et qualem semper optaverat. Nam fere quotiens audisset cito ac nullo cruciatu defunctum quempiam, sibi et suis *εὐθανασίαν* similem (hoc enim et verbo uti solebat) precabatur. Unum omnino ante efflatam animam signum alienatae mentis ostendit, quod subito pavefactus a quadraginta se iuvenibus abripi questus est. Id quoque magis praesagium quam mentis deminutio fuit, siquidem totidem milites praetoriani extulerunt eum in publicum.

100. Obiit in cubiculo eodem, quo pater Octavius, duobus Sextis, Pompeio et Appuleio, coss. XIIII Kal. Septemb. hora diei nona, septuagesimo et sexto aetatis anno, diebus V et XXX minus.

Corpus decuriones municipiorum et coloniarum a Nola Bovillas usque deportarunt, noctibus propter anni tempus, cum interdiu in basilica cuiusque oppidi vel in aedium sacrarum maxima reponeretur. A Bovillis equester ordo suscepit, urbique intulit atque in vestibulo domus conlocavit. Se-

natus et in funere ornando et in memoria honoranda eo studio certatim progressus est ut inter alia complura censuerint quidam, funus triumphali porta ducendum, praecedente Victoria quae est in curia, canentibus neniam principum liberis utriusque sexus; alii, exsequiarum die ponendos anulos aureos ferreosque sumendos; nonnulli, ossa legenda per sacerdotes summorum collegiorum. Fuit et qui suaderet, appellationem mensis Augusti in Septembrem transferendam, quod hoc genitus Augustus, illo defunctus esset; alius, ut omne tempus a primo die natali ad exitum eius saeculum Augustum appellaretur et ita in fastos referretur. Verum adhibito honoribus modo, bifariam laudatus est: pro aede Divi Iuli a Tiberio et pro rostris veteribus a Druso Tiberi filio, ac senatorum umeris delatus in Campum crematusque. Nec defuit vir praetorius, qui se effigiem cremati euntem in caelum vidisse iuraret. Reliquias legerunt primores equestris ordinis, tunicati et discincti pedibusque nudis, ac Mausoleo condiderunt. Id opus inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tiberis sexto suo consulatu extruxerat circumiectasque silvas et ambulationes in usum populi iam tum publicarat.

101. Testamentum, L. Planco C. Silio coss. III. Non. Apriles, ante annum et quattuor menses quam decederet, factum ab eo ac duobus codicibus, partim ipsius partim libertorum Polybi et Hilarionis manu, scriptum depositumque apud se virgines Vestales cum tribus signatis aeque voluminibus protulerunt. Quae omnia in senatu aperta atque recitata sunt. Heredes instituit; primos, Tiberium ex parte dimidia et sextante, Liviam ex

parte tertia, quos et ferre nomen suum iussit; secundos, Drusum Tiberi filium ex triente, ex partibus reliquis Germanicum liberosque eius tres sexus virilis ; tertio gradu, propinquos amicosque compluris. Legavit populo Romano quadringenties, tribubus tricies quinquies sestertium, praetorianis militibus singula milia nummorum, cohortibus urbanis quingenos, legionaris trecenos nummos: quam summam repraesentari iussit, nam et confiscatam semper repositamque habuerat. Reliqua legata varie dedit produxitque quaedam ad vicies sestertium, quibus solvendis annuum diem finiit, excusata rei familiaris mediocritate, nec plus perventurum ad heredes suos quam milies et quingenties professus, quamvis viginti proximis annis quaterdecies milies ex testamentis amicorum percepisset, quod paene omne cum duobus paternis patrimoniis ceterisque hereditatibus in rem publicam absumsisset. Iulias filiam neptemque, si quid iis accidisset, vetuit sepulcro suo inferri. Tribus voluminibus, uno mandata de funere suo complexus est, altero indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulis, quae ante Mausoleum statuerentur, tertio breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum sub signis ubique esset, quantum pecuniae in aerario et fiscis et vectigaliorum residuis. Adiecit et libertorum servorumque nomina, a quibus ratio exigi posset.

A. and G. = Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar.

Baum-Crus. = Baumgarten-Crusius.

Hk. or Hark. = Harkness's Latin Grammar.

L. and S. = Lewis and Short's Latin Lexicon.

Aulus Gellius is quoted from the text of Hertz.

Macrobius from the text of Eyssenhardt.

Martial from the text of Friedländer.

Pliny the Elder from the text of L. von Jan.

Pliny the Younger from the text of Keil.

Cicero's Letters from the text of Klotz.

Plutarch from the text of Doehner.

Dio Cassius from the text of Reimar (Hamburg, 1752).

COMMENTARY.

BOOK I.

1. The first portion of this book is missing in all the MSS., showing thus that they are all derived from the same archetype. That there does exist a lacuna has been the almost unanimous opinion of scholars for many centuries. Raphael Volaterranus (in the year 1506) wrote: "Opinio grammaticorum nonnullorum est primam vitam Caesaris haud integram reperiri, cum verisimile non sit ipsius incunabula generis tacuisse adeoque ex abrupto exorsum esse, cum ceterorum omnium, etiam ignobilium, altius originem repetierit; itaque 'Iulius Caesar' in principio addita esse verba." A passage in Servius (ad Verg. Aen. 6. 799) evidently alludes to a portion of the Life which we do not now possess. It runs as follows: *Suetonius ait in vita Caesaris responsa esse data per totum orbem nasci invictum imperatorem.* The whole Life seems to have been known to Joannes Laurentius Lydus in the sixth century (Teuffel, § 342. 8), as appears from a passage of his work *Περὶ μηνῶν*, quoted by Roth, p. 286, and a paragraph in his other treatise *Περὶ ἀρχῶν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας*. For a full discussion of the portion supposed to be lost, cf. Roth, Praef. pp. viii–xi. Mr. Simcox, who is always ingenious if nothing else, puts forward the suggestion in his History of Latin Literature, that Suetonius purposely omitted the details of Caesar's boyhood as being trite and already many times repeated, and hence likely to bore the reader!——**flamen Dialis destinatus**: destinatus = designatus, as in Livy, 10. 22. 1, and Tac. Annal. 1. 3. In § 27 Suetonius uses *destinatam* as an equivalent for *sponsam*. Cicero (de Leg. 2. 8) expresses the distinction between sacerdotes, pontifices, and flamines in these words: *Divisque aliis alii sacerdotes, omnibus pontifices, singulis* FLAMINES *sunto.* Originally there were only three (*flamines maiores*),—the flamen Dialis, the flamen Martialis, and the

flamen Quirinalis (Plutarch, Numa, 7). Later, twelve more were added (*flamines minores*), chosen from the plebeians. The flamen Pomonalis was the flamen of the least importance. Though Gellius gives a different account, the flamines were probably in later times chosen by the comitia tributa. The word *flamen* is qs. *flag-men* (*flag-min*), from the Latin base *flag*, to burn, seen in *flagro*, *flamma* (*flag-ma*), φλέγειν, Skt. *bhráj*, all from √BHARG, to shine, to which are to be assigned the English 'bright,' and the Middle High German 'berht.' Cf. Fick, I. 152. Hence *flamen* is "the burner of the sacrifice," or "the burner of the incense." Cf. the Roman name Flaminius. On the choice of the flamines cf. Tac. Annal. 4. 16, and Gell. 10. 15. The technical term is *flaminem capere*, on which cf. Gell. 1. 12. 15: *Sed flamines quoque Diales, item pontifices et augures 'capi' dicebantur.*——**dimissa Cossutia**: cf. Calig. § 25: *matrimonia contraxerit turpius an dimiserit.*——**desponsata**: Post Aug. word for *desponsa* which is twice used in Claud. § 27. ——**Cinnae quater consulis**: i.e., who was altogether four times consul. An instance of Suetonian brevity of expression. See Introd. 8.——**repudiaret**: *repudium*, as contrasted with *divortium*, refers to the breaking off of an engagement to marry (cf. Dig. 50. 16. 191), but *repudiaret* in the present passage is equivalent to *divortium faceret*, and so in Claud. § 26. In § 21, *repudiare* is used of the woman's act, *repudiato sponso*. Velleius tells us (2. 41) that Marcus Piso, a consular, was less independent under similar circumstances, divorcing his wife Annia, who had formerly been married to Cinna, in order to gain Sulla's favor. Hase instances the willingness of the first Napoleon to divorce his wife for reasons of state; but the parallel cannot be considered close.——**diversarum partium habebatur**: "he was classed with the opposite faction." In Aug. § 12, *secta* is used of a political faction, as *factio* infra § 11.——**discedere e medio**: less common than *excedere* (Ter. Phorm. 5. 8. 74), *recedere* (Cic. Rosc. Am. 38, § 112), or *abire* (Ter. Phorm. 5. 9. 30). *E medio* (also *de medio*) is opposed in meaning to *in medium*, for which cf. Cic. Verr. 2. 2. 71, ad Fam. 15. 27. 6, and De Offic. 1. 7: *communes utilitates in medium afferre*. So also *in medio*, as *tabulae sunt in medio*, Cic. Verr. 2. 2. 42. Suet. uses *in medium conferre* as a gambler's phrase, to "put into the pot," in Aug. § 71

(quoted from a letter of Aug.).——**quartanae** : sc. febris, as in Juv. 4. 57.——**inquisitoribus** : their leader, Cornelius Phagita, is mentioned in § 74. See also Plut. Caes. 1, *τὸν ἡγεμόνα Κορνήλιον πείσας*.——**per virgines vestales** : Plutarch in his life of Numa mentions their privileges and prerogatives as (1) the right of making a will during the father's life; (2) the rights of a mother of three children; (3) the honor of the fasces; (4) the right of saving the life of any criminal whom they met on the way to execution, provided the meeting was accidental. They appear also to have had some especial rights of intercession in behalf of accused persons. Cf. with Hase, Cic. pro Font. 21; Tacit. Annal. 11. 32; and id. Histor. 3. 81. See also Tib. § 2 *fin.*, and Vitell. § 16.——**Mamercum Aemilium** : for this inversion of a proper name, see Introd. 10. *a.*——**propinquos et affines** : *συγγενεῖς καὶ κηδεσταί* : *propinqui* are blood relations, *affines* connections by marriage. The names of *affines* are : socer, socrus, gener, nurus, vitricus, noverca, privignus, privigna, levir, glos.——**optimatium** : optimates are opposed to populares. Cf. Cic. cited by Nonius, 342. 31 : *res publica ex tribus generibus illis, regali et optumati et populari confusa.*——**nam Caesari multos Marios inesse** : Plutarch in his life of Caesar repeats the same saying. Cf. infra § 45, where Sulla warns his friends *ut male praecinctum puerum caverent*. Macrobius (S. 2. 3. 9) gives the words of Sulla *cave tibi illum puerum male praecinctum* as said to Pompey. So Dio Cass. 43. 43, who gives us a similar saying of Cicero : *οὐκ ἄν ποτε προσεδόκησα τὸν κακῶς οὕτω ζωννύμενον Πομπηΐου κρατήσειν*.

2. Stipendia prima in Asia fecit. "He went through his first campaign in Asia, on the staff of M. Thermus." So Tacitus of Agricola (Agric. 5): *prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia*. *Stipendium* is the pay of a soldier, sometimes fully styled *stipendium militare* (Livy, 4. 60. 5). Somewhat more common than *stipendia facere* (for which see Sallust, Jug. 63) is *stipendia merere* or *emerere*. Tacitus by a metonymy takes *stipendium* directly in the sense of "a campaign" (Annal. 1. 17).——**Reliqua militia** : may be taken either as a nominative or an ablative, but better as an ablative in order that the subject both of *fuit* and of *donatus est* may be the same, i.e., *Caesar*.——**in expugnatione Mytilenarum**. Cf. Plut. Lucull. 4, and the Epitome of

Livy, lxxxix. After the defeat of Mithridates, Mytilenae was the only city that still continued to resist the Romans.——**corona civica** : a chaplet of oak leaves presented to the soldier who had saved in battle the life of a fellow-citizen. It ranked second in honor among the coronae, the most highly esteemed being the corona obsidionalis given to the general who relieved a beleaguered town, and made of grass (hence *graminea*). Other crowns were the corona navalis (gold), the corona muralis (gold), the corona castrensis (gold), the corona triumphalis (bay), the corona ovalis (myrtle), and the corona oleagina (olive). See Gell. 5. 6, for a full account.

3. Meruit et. See Introd. 17.——**Servilio**. With his son, Caesar held the consulate in B.C. 47. Cf. Plut. Caes. 37; and Aug. § 62.——**brevi tempore** : i.e., returning to Rome before the end of the year.——**novae dissensionis** : cf. Flor. 3. 23.

4. repetundarum postulavit sc. pecuniarum, "impeached him for bribery." A Post Aug. construction for *de repetundis* (pecuniis) *postulavit*. Cf. Cic. ad Q. Frat. 3. 1. 5, *qui iam de maiestate postulavit*. Suet. again uses the genitive in Aug. § 56 : *qui postulabatur iniuriarum*. *Pecuniae repetundae* is a technical term (see Introd. 1), originally used of money extorted by an official and to be returned; later, of money extorted as a bribe. See L. and S. Lex. s. v. repeto. For the ellipsis of *pecuniarum* cf. Domit. § 8: *auctor fuit aedilem sordidum repetundarum accusandi* The plural *pecuniarum* is legal phraseology, exactly like our "moneys."——**Apollonio Moloni**. Apollonius Molo was also one of the instructors of Cicero, who mentions him (with a pun on his name Molo) in one of his letters to Atticus (2. 1. 9). Val. Max. 2. 2, speaks of *Molo rhetor qui studia M. Ciceronis acuit.* Plut. (Cic. 4) mentions Apollonius among the teachers of Cicero. See also Quint. Inst. 12. 6. 7 : *M. Tullius . . . . in Asiam navigavit seque et aliis sine dubio eloquentiae ac sapientiae magistris, sed praecipue tamen Apollonio Moloni quem Romae quoque audierat, Rhodi rursus formandum velut recoquendum dedit.*——**Pharmacussam insulam.** S. W. of Miletus, and now called Farmako. There were two small islands of the same name off the coast of Attica, near Salamis. See Strabo, 9. 1. 13.——**a praedonibus** : the pirates who swarmed in the Mediterranean at this time as the direct result of the Mithridatic wars, in which

so many thousands of the inhabitants of Asia Minor were driven from their homes and forced into lawless pursuits. A parallel may be found in the condition of France at the time of the Hundred Years' War, when the atrocities of the *Écorcheurs* led to the historically important Ordinance of Orleans (1439), and the creation of a standing army to suppress banditti. So the Mediterranean pirates were at last suppressed by Pompey under the ample powers given him by the Gabinian Law (B.C. 67); but the lawlessness continued so long as to make every voyage dangerous. So numerous were the pirates that they formed a powerful community, living in magnificence, with regular depots for disposing of their prisoners and plunder, and with power enough practically to control the waters between Italy and Asia Minor. "The oars of the galleys of their commanders were plated with silver; their cabins were hung with gorgeous tapestry. They had bands of music to play at their triumphs. They had a religion of their own, an oriental medley called the Mysteries of Mithras. They had captured and pillaged four hundred considerable towns, and had spoiled the temples of the Grecian gods." At one time they even ventured into the harbor of Ostia and burned the ships that were lying there. It is to them that the pirates of modern times owe the practice of compelling their useless captives to "walk the plank." Some notion of their numbers may be gathered from the fact that Pompey in his work of suppressing them, destroyed 1300 pirate ships and took over 22,000 prisoners. Over 10,000 of the pirates fell in battle. See Mommsen, Bk. V. ch. 4. The name Cilix passed into the Latin language as a synonym for *praedo*, just as Threx became an equivalent for *gladiator* (Hor. Epod. 5. 14, and Calig. § 35), and as the Greeks used the word *Κάρ* sometimes as equivalent to *δοῦλος* and sometimes to *ξένος* (Thucyd. I. 121; Polyb. 10. 32. 11). Hence the proverbs *θύραζε, Κᾶρες, οὐκέτ' Ἀνθεστήρια*,—"Out, slaves, the holidays are over!"—and *ἐν τῷ Καρὶ κινδυνεύειν* (Eurip. Cycl. 647). See also Valck. Herodot. 5. 66, and the interesting chapter in Dr. Taylor's *Words and Places*, pp. 275–310.——**non sine summa indignatione**. Plutarch's account is very characteristic of Caesar: "He was taken near the island of Pharmacussa by some of the pirates who at that time with large fleets of ships and innumera-

ble smaller vessels infested the seas everywhere. When these men at first demanded of him twenty talents for his ransom, he laughed at them for not understanding the value of their prisoner, and of his own accord promised to give them fifty. He presently despatched those about him to several places to raise the money, till at last he was left among a set of the most ferocious people in the world, the Cilicians, with only one friend and two attendants. Yet he made so little of them, that when he had a desire to sleep he would send to them and command them to make no noise. For thirty-eight days, with perfect nonchalance, he amused himself by joining in their diversions and games, as if they had been his attendants rather than his keepers. He wrote verses and orations, and made the pirates his audience, and if they did not admire, he called them to their faces ignorant and barbarous, and would often in raillery threaten to hang them. They were greatly taken with this, and set down his bluntness of speech to a sort of simplicity and playfulness." ——**pecunias quibus redimeretur**. Velleius (2. 42) says that Caesar's ransom was paid out of public funds.——**e vestigio.** "Immediately," and = *statim*. So Caes. Bell. Civ. 2. 25. The simple ablative is also used adverbially: so, *urbs capta eodem vestigio videretur*, id. ib. 2. 7, and cf. *vestigio temporis*, id. ib. 2. 26, and *in vestigio temporis*, id. Bell. Gall. 7. 25.——**supplicio quod saepe illis minatus**. See § 74, and Vell. 2. 42, regarding this punishment.——**inter iocum.** Less common than *per iocum* (see Aug. § 77, note), and much rarer than the simple ablative *ioco*, for which cf. *serio iocove*, Nero § 25, and *vel serio vel ioco*, Aug. § 53. Opposed to *extra iocum*, a phrase to be compared with the *extra sortem*, § 20. In the present passage some edd. read *per iocum*, on which see Hase ad h. l.——**ne desidere** etc. "Lest he should appear to be inactive at a time of peril to the allies."——**Nutantis ac dubias civitates retinuit in fide**: "he held the wavering and uncertain states to their allegiance."

5. cuius vim Sulla diminuerat. Cf. Vell. 2. 30; Epitome of Livy, lxxxix.; Sallust, Hist. 1. 41. 11 (Dietsch); Tac. Annal. 3. 27; and the excellent account in Mommsen, Bk. IV. ch. 10.——**enixissime**: this superlative form is very rare. See Introd. 3.—— **et qui**: sc. *iis* as the antecedent of *qui*, and dative after *reditum confecit*.——**post necem**: *necem* here involves no idea of violence

and = mortem. A very rare usage, and found only in post-Aug. Latin. Lewis and Short cite Just. 42. 1. 1, *post necem Mithridatis*, which is to be understood as referring to the Parthian Mithridates, and not to the King of Pontus who died by his own hand. ——**rogatione Plotia** : 'rogatio' is properly distinguished from 'lex,' according to Festus, in that it is a bill relating to particular individuals rather than the whole people; or to particular instances, while 'lex' is general in its scope. This distinction fits the present passage. A *rogatio* is so called because the people is *asked* whether it will decree this or that enactment. The formula of *rogatio* is given by Gell. 5. 19. 9. The word occurs frequently in the following technical expressions: *rogationem jubere*, to pass a bill; *antiquare r.*, to reject it,—i.e., to leave the law in its ancient state (Paul. ex Fest. p. 26, Müll.). Hence the two tablets given to the voter were inscribed respectively A. (antiquo), and V. R. (uti rogas). The proposer of a law is said *ferre rogationem*, 'to get it passed.' Cf. also, *legem rogare*, 'to propose a law'; *derogare*, 'to repeal some portion of it'; *abrogare*, 'to repeal it entire'; *obrogare*, 'to propose a law in opposition to it'; *surrogare*, 'to propose a substitute'.——**super ea re** : *super* = de. See Introd. 16.——**contionem** : syncopated from *conventionem*, and originally a public meeting, then the speech delivered before a contio. As a rhetorical term it is applied to the imaginary discourses attributed by historical writers to famous men, as the speeches of Agricola and Calgacus given by Tac. Agric. 30–34, and the many famous examples in Thucydides and Livy. *Contionor* is a favorite word of Suet. See §§ 33., 55., 85. and Aug. §§ 27., 84.

6. amitam. The wife of the elder Marius. On the practice of delivering funeral orations over matrons, see Livy, 5. 50. 7. *Amita* is an aunt on the father's side; *matertera*, on the mother's. The English 'aunt' comes from *amita* through the French *tante*, corrupted from the earlier *ante*. The *m* of *amita* has changed to *n* before the *t* exactly as in the word *ant* from the A. S. *aemete*, though retained in the doublet *emmet*. Skeat cites by way of illustration the popular Eng. abbreviation 'Hants' for 'Hampshire.' See Mätzner, Eng. Gram. I. 123. With *amita* cf. the O. H. G. *ammâ* (mother), the mod. Germ. *amme* (nurse), Gael. *am*, Languedocian and Basque *ama* (mother), and Skt. *ambâ*.

The Spanish and Portuguese *ama* (housewife) and *amo* (*dominus*) are doubtless the same, though Knapp would make them Semitic survivals from the Phœnician *amma*. See Diez, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Romanischen Sprachen (Bonn, 1878). Prof. Knapp's view is justly criticised by Dr. H. A. Todd in *Mod. Language Notes*, Nov. 1886.——**mater** : "*her* mother," i.e., Marcia, married to C. Caesar, the grandfather of Julius.——**plurimum pollent.** So Cic. Brut. 51. 190; and *plus pollet*, id. Offic. 2. 9. 34. For this sentiment Hase quotes Hor. O. 3. 1. 5.

> Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
> Reges in ipsos imperium est Iovis.

——**caerimonia deorum** : "the majesty of monarchs and the sanctity of gods." In this sense *caerimonia* is rare. The word is popularly derived from Caere, the Etruscan town (see Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 304); but is better assigned directly to √KAR, of *creo* (= *facere*), κραίνω (Curt. I. 189), and the Skt. *karman*, a rite.——**adulteratam opinatus a Publio Clodio.** It was with regard to this scandal that Caesar uttered his famous remark, given in § 74, which see. On Clodius, who is one of the most remarkable characters in Roman history, see the letters of Cicero ad Atticum, 1. 13; id. 16; ad Fam. 2. 6; the oration for Milo; Merivale, I. 144–152; Long, III. c. xvii.; Mommsen, Bk. V., and Professor Beesly's article on Clodius. Also Froude's Caesar, pp. 154–158 (ch. xii.).——**de pollutis sacris.** The festival was that of the Bona Dea, called also Fauna and Fatua, revealing prophecies to women only, as Faunus only to males. Cf. Plutarch, Caes. 9, and Nettleship, Essays, pp. 50–54. The festival was held annually on the Kalends of May.

7. ulterior Hispania : i.e., Hispania trans Iberum.——**conventus circumiret.** The *conventus* was a gathering of all the Roman inhabitants of a provincial district, something like the hundred-moot of the early English, presided over by the proconsul, who from their number selected judices to try the cases presented by litigants. The proconsul pronounced judgment according to the verdict of the judices. Cf. Caes. Bell. Gall. 1. 54, and 5. 2.——**Gadis.** Now Cadiz, and a town of remarkable antiquity. It was one of the outposts of Phœnician commerce, which studded the shores of the Mediterranean with settlements, and extended down the West African coast as far as the mouth of the Senegal.

The name is corrupted from Gadeira and derived from *gadir*, "a hedge," which appears possibly in the name of the Aegates near Sicily, and in the familiar names of Scripture, Geder and Gadara. It marks a fortified place, and so presents a striking analogy with the English 'town' from *tún*, *tynan*, 'to enclose,' and the O. H. G *zun*, 'a hedge.' Cognate with this is the Irish *dun*, 'a fortress,' found in its lengthened Latinized form *dunum* in so many Keltic place-names, e.g. Camalodunum, Augustodunum, Lugdunum, etc. [In the text after the words *occasione in urbe*, the following passage has been omitted: "Etiam confusum eum somnio proximae noctis (nam visus erat per quietem stuprum matri intulisse) coiectores ad amplissimam spem incitaverunt, arbitrium terrarum orbis portendi interpretantes quando mater quam subiectam sibi vidisset non alia esset quam terra quae omnium parens haberetur."—Plutarch says that this dream was on the night preceding the crossing of the Rubicon.]

8. Decedens : in administrative language, a technical term for retiring from one's province; in military language it means "to retreat." Usually *provincia* is expressed either in the simple ablative or with *de*, *ex*, or (rarely) *ab*. Cf. Livy, 39. 3.——**ad audendum aliquid.** Cf. Juvenal, 1. 73: *aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum.*

9. maiora mox in urbe molitus est. Notice the alliteration and see Introduction, 5.——**paucos dies** : loosely used for *paucis diebus* or *intra paucos dies*, the time being properly regarded as that in which the suspicion arose. Roby, 1182. Conversely, the ablative construction is not infrequently used of duration, though an attempt has been made by some scholars to discover a fine-spun, subtle distinction when it is so used instead of the accusative. Cf. Cic. de Nat. Deor. 2. 16. *Ordo autem siderum et in omni aeternitate constantia ;* Roby, 1184; and Dumesnil on Cic. de Leg. 1. 8.——**post designationem consulatus** : Cf. *annua designatio*, Tac. Annal. 2. 36. The consuls were elected at the comitia centuriata in July. From this time until their installation on the Kalends of the following January they were styled *consules designati* and received certain special honors and distinctions, among them being the right of giving their vote first in the Senate, except as precedence was modified by Augustus, as stated by our author, Aug. § 35.——**ambitus.** A. and G. 220.——**ipse** : i.e., Caesar.

So *αὐτός* in Greek designates always the chief personage, or the one regarded by the writer or speaker as most important. Used by a student of philosophy it means the head of the school (*αὐτὸς ἔφα* said by the Pythagoreans); used by a slave, it means his master. Cf. Plato, Protag. 314 D, *ου σχολὴ αὐτῷ*, and in Lat. Juv. 5. 30; *ipse capillato diffusum consule potat*. So, at the end of this chapter, *ille* and *ipse* are contrasted.——**Tanusius Geminus**. An annalist, whose books are described by Seneca as 'ponderosi,' and possibly identical with those mocked at by Catullus, 36. and elsewhere. Cf. Plutarch, Caes. 22.——**Marcus Bibulus in edictis**. See § 20. ——**significare**: "to hint."——**Axium**: Q. Axius, whom Cicero mentions in several letters. See ad Att. 3. 15; 4. 15; 5. 21; 12. 1.——**non obisse**: 'diem obire' is an idiomatic phrase = "to keep the day," i.e., to appear on the day. *Obire diem suum = mori*.——**Idem Curio sed et M. Actorius**. 'Sed et' = "and in fact." In this sense *sed* is regularly accompanied by *etiam*, as here. Cf. Calig. § 16, *ex testamento Tiberi sed et Iuliae Augustae:* Cic. ad Fam. 13. 64. 2, *si eum adiuveris apud ipsum praeclarissime posueris sed mihi etiam gratissimum feceris:* id. ad Att. 5. 21. 6, *Volusium certum hominem sed mirifice etiam abstinentem*. So, without the addition of the *etiam* in id. de Offic. 1. 10. 33, *nimis callida sed malitiosa iuris interpretatione* where *sed = et quidem*.——**destitutum**: "abandoned."——**morte Pisonis**: who died on his way to Spain. Sallust, Cat. 19. *Piso . . . ab equitibus Hispanis quos sine exercitu ductabat, iter faciens occisus est.*

10. basilicas: the basilica (*βασιλική στοά*) was a large roofed hall with double rows of pillars on each side forming aisles (*porticus*), and as a rule not walled in. The pure Latin name is *regia*, for which see Aug. § 31, fin. *contra theatri eius regiam*.——**ad tempus**: "temporarily." So *in tempus*, for which cf. Tac. Annal. 14. 20: *scaena in tempus structa*.——**pars apparatus**: sc. ludorum, as in Cic. de Offic. 2. 16. 55: *ludorum venationumque apparatu*.——**venationes**: technically used of the combats with wild beasts, as in the passage from Cicero just quoted, in Calig. §§ 18., 27, and often.——**edidit**: the technical word. So *editor* of the exhibitor, and in Suetonius also, *munerarius* (Domit. § 10). Florus employs *munerator* (3. 20. 9.)

——**gladiatorium munus.** See Introd. 11, *a.*——**aliquanto paucioribus . . . paribus** : "with somewhat fewer pairs." Plutarch gives the number of pairs of gladiators on this occasion as three hundred and twenty.

11. Aegyptus provincia : Hase remarks on this that the word *provincia* can only be understood here in the general sense of *locus*, *regio*, since in § 35 we are told that he gave the kingdom of Egypt to Cleopatra and her younger brother, *veritus provinciam facere ne quandoque violentiorem praesidem nacta, novarum rerum materia esset.* See also Hirt. Bell. Alexand. §§ 31 and 33; and Dio. Cass. 42. 44. Augustus reduced it to the form of a province. See Aug. § 18, *Aegyptum in provinciae formam redactam;* and Tac. Annal. 2. 59, id. Hist. 1. 11, Strabo, 17. 1. 12. For the use of *provincia* in this general sense Hase cites Livy, 2. 54; 40. 35, and Nepos, Alcibiad. 4.——**Nec obtinuit** etc. A loosely constructed sentence, brevity being attained at the expense of exactness. *Nec* = *nec tamen*, and the clause *quorum auctoritatem ut* gives us an anastrophe of the conjunction and the use of the relative, for the demonstrative introduced by a copulative. *quibus* = *quibuscunque.*——**tropaea Gai Mari.** See the account in Plutarch, Caes. 6. Vell. 2. 43, says briefly: *et restituta in aedilitate, adversante quidem nobilitate, monumenta C. Mari.* The name *tropaea* among the Romans seems to have been used as an equivalent of *spolia*, referring to suits of armor, shields, and weapons, or after naval warfare was introduced, beaks of ships, as in the *domus rostrata* of Pompey, for which see Cic. Philipp. 2. 28. Later, the practice of erecting formal trophies on the field of battle was borrowed from the Greeks (Florus, 3. 2), and Caesar himself, as we are told by Dio Cass. (42. 48), followed the example of Fabius Maximus and Pompey and set up a trophy after defeating Pharnaces. More commonly, however, the memorial was raised at Rome itself. Plutarch describes these "trophies" of Marius restored by Caesar as "images of Marius and figures of Victory, with trophies in their hands . . . glittering with gold and exquisitely made, with inscriptions on them referring to Marius's exploits."——**in exercenda de sicaris quaestione** : by what is fully known as the Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficis, and passed during the dictatorship of Sulla, B.C. 82. It was directed against all cases of manslaughter or arson, against all per-

sons who went about with weapons for any illegal purpose, or who made, bought, sold, or possessed poison, or who in any office conspired to obtain a judgment against a citizen. As subsequently amended, it also punished *impia sacrificia.* Under the republic the penalty prescribed by the law was *interdictio aquae et ignis;* under the emperors, *deportatio in insulam* and the confiscation of property. Cf. the punishment for parricide in Aug. § 33.

12. qui perduellionis diem diceret. Perduellio or the crimen laesae maiestatis was a name applied to any act committed against the Roman people or against its safety, including any act or attempt against the person of a magistrate who held the imperium or potestas. Under Tiberius the law of *maiestas* was made to include the most trifling acts construed as impairing or neglecting the respect due to the dignity of the emperor. Thus, a person who undressed near the statue of Augustus, or who carried a coin bearing the emperor's effigy into a brothel, or entered a *latrina* while wearing the image of the emperor upon his ring, was adjudged guilty of treason. See Tib. § 58 and the full note on *dominus*, Aug. § 53.——**condemnavit** : "prosecuted." In this sense rare, but Ciceronian. Cf. Cic. in Verr. 2. 5. 69.——**ad populum provocanti.** See Livy, 1. 26. *Ita de provocatione certatum ad populum est.*

13. Deposita provinciae spe, i.e., of Egypt.——**aeris alieni** : so *pecuniae mutuae*, *argentum mutuum*, and absolutely, *mutuum.*——**in eorum tribubus.** The whole number of Roman tribes was thirty-five, of which thirty-one were *tribus rusticae* (Aemilia, Aniensis, Arniensis, Claudia, Cornelia, Crustumina, Fabia, Falerina, Galesia, Horatia, Lemonia, Maecia, Menenia, Oufentina, Papiria, Pollia, Pomptina, Popilia, Pupinia, Quirina, Romilia, Sabatina, Scaptia, Sergia, Stellatina, Terentina, Tromentina, Veientina, Velina, Veturia, Voltinia), and the remaining four, *tribus urbanae* (Collina, Esquilina, Palatina, Suburana). The election (*captio*) of the pontifex maximus, as seen by this passage, was a function of the *comitia tributa*, and so Livy, 25. 5; though we also read of the pontifical college exercising the right of co-optation. Probably the college *pro forma* confirmed the selection of a candidate made by the comitia. —A great deal of unnecessary speculation has been wasted on

the etymology of the word *pontifex*. The ancients were divided in opinion on the subject, some assigning it to *posse*. Göttling (Geschichte d. Röm. Staatsver., p. 173) would make the word to have been originally *pompifex* (pompa), the "master of ceremonies." But Varro's explanation (De Ling. Lat. 5. 83, Müll.) is good so far as it derives it from *pons*, though the reason which he alleges is insufficient. The Greek writers translate the word *pontifices* by *γεφυροποιοί*, on which see Dionys. 1. 38. The election of Caesar as pontifex maximus took place in the year 63 B.C., in the consulship of Cicero and C. Antonius.

14. detecta coniuratione Catilinae. B.C. 63.——**municipatim:** see Cicero's comment on this proposition in his fourth Catilinarian oration, 4. 7, and 5. 9, and 10: *municipiis dispertiri iubet.* See also Caesar, as quoted by Sallust, Cat. 51. *ita censeo: publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia quae maxime opibus valent.* After Caesar had spoken, his pregnant oratory and above all his strong appeal against any departure from the ordinary course of law, produced so powerful an effect upon the Senate that for the moment it seemed as though his plan would be adopted. Silanus, who had proposed the death penalty under the plea that the conspirators had by their treason to the State, voluntarily divested themselves of citizenship and the protection of the Sempronian law, withdrew his motion. Quintus Cicero, the brother of the orator, followed in the same line, and it was only when Cato sprang up and poured forth a passionate harangue, appealing alike to the fears and the prejudices of his hearers, that the Senators were induced to reject the counsel of Caesar. Cato's most effective thrust was that in which he implied that Caesar himself was the accomplice of Catiline. The story is told by Plutarch, that while Caesar was delivering his argument an attendant handed him a note. Cato, suspicious, and filled with the belief that the note was from one of the conspirators, rose and demanded that it be opened and publicly read. Thereupon Caesar handed it to Cato, who opened it to find that it was a compromising love-letter from his own sister Servilia, the mother of Brutus. Upon which tradition Mr. Froude remarks: "It is enough to say that there is no contemporary evidence for the story at all. . . . Ladies do not send in compromising letters to their lovers when

they are on their feet in Parliament; nor, if such an accident should happen, do the lovers pass them over to be read by the ladies' brothers." On *municipatim* see Introd. 4.——**interpretatione lenire.** He had advocated 'ultimum supplicium'; he now pretended that he had meant perpetual imprisonment as being the 'ultimum supplicium' for a Roman citizen.——**manus equitum Romanorum.** See Sallust, Cat. 49, and Plutarch, Caes. 8.

15. de refectione Capitoli. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was burnt during the civil wars (B.C. 83). Sulla restored it in part, but died before the work was completed. Cf. Gell. 2. 10. 2. *Q. Catulus curator restituendi Capitolii.*——**ad disquisitionem populi.** Tac. Hist. 3. 72.——**in alium transferebat**: "he attempted to transfer to another." The conative use of the imperfect, for which see Roby, 1470; A. and G. 277. *c. Alium* refers to Pompey, but the transfer was not made.——**verum impar optimatium conspirationi**: "but he was no match for the allied nobles." *Optimatium conspirationi* by metonymy for *optimatibus inter se consentientibus.* The use of *conspiratio* in this passage may be illustrated by Cic. in Cat. 4. 10. 22, *Tantam conspirationem bonorum omnium.* In fact, the word is quite as often used in bonam partem as otherwise.——**Novorum consulum officio**: the new consuls were D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena. The word *officium* refers to the custom of the *salutatio*, of which Pliny, Epist. 9. 37, says, writing to Paulinus: *Vides quam non delicata me causa obire primum consulatus tui diem non sinat, quem tamen hic quoque ut praesens votis gaudio gratulatione celebrabo.*——**actionem deposuit**: "he abandoned the measure."

16. Caecilio Metello. He demanded that Pompey be recalled to Italy, in this opposing chiefly the younger Cato. Plutarch (Cato Min.) gives the account in full of the struggle between the two.——**sponte et ultro.** 'Sponte' means without help or compulsion; 'ultro' without suggestion.——**festinato**: Post Aug. for *festinanter*, for which *festinatim* is the ante-classical word. On the occurrence, see Froude, Caesar, pp. 149–50.——**inducto priore decreto**: *inducere* is the regular expression for obliterating a bit of writing by drawing the broad end of the stilus over the wax of the tablet. Hence the famous Horatian maxim: *saepe*

stilum vertas iterum quae digna legi sint Scripturus (Sat. 1. 10. 73) and *inducendi senatus consulti* in Cic. ad Att. 1. 20. 4.

17. Recidit rursus. Pleonasm like *rursus repetita*, § 2. See Introd. 9.——**Novium Nigrum quaestorem.** Not one of the regular quaestors, but, as Hase clearly shows, a *quaesitor* especially put in charge of the *quaestio* concerning the affair of Catiline. So Cicero (Cat. 4. 5. 10) speaks of himself as a *quaesitor*. See Tib. § 33.——**Q. Curio.** On the share of Curius himself in the conspiracy and of his betrayal of the plot, cf. Sallust. Cat. 17., 23., and 26.——**pignoribus captis.** So Livy, 3. 38, 12. cited by Hase: *apparitores . . . ad pignora capienda.*——**male mulcatum**: "roughly handled." *Mulco* is qs. *molico* from *molo* with an iterative signification. Cf. *fodico*, *vellico*, etc.——**maiorem potestatem**: "because he had permitted a magistrate of higher power to be brought before him by force." *Compello* is a favorite word of Sueton., usually followed by the accus. with *ad*. Cf. Aug. §§ 14., 66; Tib. § 56., 62; Calig. § 23; Claud. §§ 15., 21; Nero, § 35. *potestas*: abstract for concrete. The same metonymy is to be observed in Claud. § 23, with which we may compare the line of Juvenal, 10. 100: *Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas*. The Italians to-day use the word *podestà* of the chief officer of the petty towns, and so *potestad* in Spanish and *podestat* in Portuguese. A like metonymy is seen in *magistratus*, and in the Gk. *ἀρχή*, used in the plural of officials. See Mayor ad Juv. l. c., and cf. Introd. 7, *b*.

18. E praetura: "after his praetorship." So ex consulatu in § 19, and so *ἐκ* in Greek: *ἐκ τούτου*.——**ante quam provinciae ornarentur.** A regular phrase used of supplying the newly chosen magistrate with money, arms, apparitores, etc. Cf. Cic. ad Att 4. 17. 2, and Livy, 40. 36. 5. In Cic. De Lege Agrar. 2. 13. 32, the word is used of the decemvirs: *apparitoribus, scribis, librariis, praeconibus, architectis, praeterea mulis, tabernaculis, centuriis, supellectili*, which passage sufficiently defines the preparation considered necessary for a magistrate.——**metune iudicii.** The creditors are said by Plutarch to have been satisfied by Crassus, then the richest man in Rome, who made himself responsible for 830 talents.——**privato**: no longer praetor, and not yet formally installed in his province, and hence liable to be sued.——**profectus est.** "In his journey, as he was

crossing the Alps, and passing by a small village of the barbarians with but few inhabitants, and those dreadfully poor, his companions asked themselves in mockery whether there could be any canvassing for offices there, or any contention as to which should be superior, or any feuds of the chief men with each other. To which Caesar answered seriously: 'As for me, I had rather be the first man among these fellows, than the second man in Rome.'" Plutarch.——**pacataque provincia**: by conquering the Calaici and Lusitani, for which he was saluted by his soldiers as Imperator.——**Sed cum** etc. "But since, after the election had been ordered, his candidacy could not be considered unless he entered the city as a civilian, and since many opposed his petition to be exempted from the operation of the laws, etc." See Plutarch, Pomp. 44; Dio Cass. 37. 54.

19. pecuniaque polleret: "*but* was powerful through his wealth." The adversative use of *que* is common after negative expressions.——**pronuntiaret** = promitteret as in § 26; Nero, § 24; Galba, § 16.——**e re publica**. Not "from the public treasury," but "for the public advantage." Baumgarten-Crusius compares the expression of Cicero, *si arbitrare utile eque re publica esse*, ad Brut. I. 5. I, and *exque re publica fecisse et facere;* Philip. 3. 15. In these passages *e re publica* = *rei publicae causa*.——**silva callesque**: i.e., in which no military reputation could be gained.——**societatem**. The famous first triumvirate, B.C. 60.——**ulli e tribus**. Cf. Introd. 17.

20. honore: regularly of civic office as contrasted with military command for which the word is *imperium*. So Juvenal, I. 117, by a metonomy uses *summus honor* for *consul*.——**diurna acta**. Besides the Acta Populi there were (*a*) Acta Forensia, kept in the archives of the temple of Saturn and in other temples, containing the leges, plebiscita, notes of the elections of aediles, tribunes, and other officers, and resembling the *δημόσια γράμματα* of the Athenians; (*b*) Acta Iudiciaria, legal reports; (*c*) Acta Militaria, containing the statistics of the soldiers, and kept by the *librarius legionis* (Veget. 2. 19); (*d*) Acta Civilia, called by Polybius *ἀπογραφαί*, and constituting a register of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces. Of these the censor originally had charge, but subsequently the *praefectus aerarii*. Cf. Cic. ad Fam. 8. 7. The *Acta Populi*, also called *Acta*

Diurna, *Urbana*, or *Publica*, seem to have taken the place of the modern newspaper, chronicling important events of the day, giving summaries of political and legal orations, the decisions of the courts, news from the army, and the latest gossip of the town. Cf. Dio Cass. 44. 11, and 57. 21; Serv. ad Aen. 1. 373; Quint. 9. 3. 17; Leclerc, *Sur les Journaux chez les Romains*; Cruttwell, *Hist. of Rom. Lit.*, pp. 206–7; Teuffel, § 213, 2; E. Hübner in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. Suppl. III. pp. 564–594. ——**accensus** = apparitor. Officers assigned as attendants to consuls, proconsuls, praetors, to serve summons and keep order. As a military word it has two meanings; first, of the 'aids' of an officer, and second, of a sort of reserved force which followed the regular troops to take the places of those who fell in battle. Cf. Cic. ad Q. Frat. 1. 1. 4, and Livy, 45. 29. 2. Of the person in charge of a funeral, in Cic. de Leg. 2. 24.——**obnuntiantem**: technical term used also of augurs and tribunes. The name given to this interference is *intercessio*, which denotes the interference of any magistrate with the public acts of any other magistrate of equal or inferior rank.——**referre aut censere**: *referre* is to make a motion, i.e., *referre ad senatum de aliqua re*, *censere* is to vote, i.e., *sententiam dare*.——**in levioribus turbis**. Cf. Ter. Andr. 2. 3. 6, *tum illae turbae fient*.——**nonnulli urbanorum**: *urbanus* here probably as in Plin. Epist. 4. 25, in the sense of the Greek ἀστεῖος, for which cf. Plat. Rep. 452 D., opposed in meaning to *rusticus* = ἄγροικος. In Greek when it is desired to convey the idea literally contained in ἀστεῖος, the word ἀστικός is used, and so in Post Aug. Latin, *urbicus*, for which see Aug. § 18.——**praeponentes** = *ponentes*. So *deducere* = *ducere*, Aug. § 42.——**hi versus**: for other instances of popular wit cited by Suet. cf. §§ 49, 80; Aug. § 70; Tiber. § 59; Nero, §§ 28, 39; Otho, § 3. So in France, as Hase remarks, the wits of the day spoke of *le consulat de Napoléon et de Bonaparte*.——**Campum Stellatem**: called so from the city Stella. The word *consecratus* is not here used with any religious notion attached to it, but simply in the sense of 'set apart,' i.e., for public purposes. On the Campus Stellatis see Cic. de Leg. Agr. 1. 7; 2. 29, and 2. 31: *fundum pulcherrimum populi Romani caput vestrae pecuniae, pacis ornamentum, subsidium belli, fundamentum vectigalium, horreum legionum, solatium annonae*. Cf. also id.

ad Att. 2. 16, where he says: "Just as I was about dropping asleep, your letter on the subject of the Campanian land-division was handed to me. Well, at first it startled me so as to put an end to sleep, but more from thoughtfulness than from disquietude." The agrarian law proposed by Caesar was rejected by the Senate, but finally carried through on an appeal to the people. See Mommsen, Bk. V. ch. 5.——**extra sortem**: i.e., not by lot, but by a committee of twenty. Velleius, 2. 45, says that Cicero refused to serve as one of these vigintiviri.——**ad viginti milibus**: in such expressions, *ad* is merely adverbial = *circiter*, and so often used by the historical writers. Cf. *occisis ad hominum milibus quattuor*. Caes. B. G. 2. 33; Livy, 27. 12. 16.——**publicanos**: men of the equestrian order who contracted for the collection of the public taxes. Cf. Cic. ad Att. 2. 1. 8: "What could be more outrageous than the publicans repudiating their contract?" ——**licerentur**: from *liceor*.——**libuissent**: the only instance of *libet* in the plural.——**contradicente nullo.** There seems to be no classical authority for our familiar parliamentary phrase *nemine contradicente*, though in other phrases Suet. employs *nemine* for *nullo*, contrary to Augustan usage. Cf. *nemine excluso*, Aug. § 45.——**M. Catonem interpellantem**: i.e., delaying the business by parliamentary technicalities. Aulus Gellius (4. 10. 8) gives a fuller account of this affair: "For the sake of delaying the business [Cato] indulged in a long-winded discourse, and kept using up the time in speaking. For a senator had the right, when called upon for his vote, to speak first on any other matter he chose and as long as he chose. Caesar, as consul, summoned an officer, and ordered Cato, since he would not make an end of speaking, to be arrested as he spoke and taken to prison. The Senate all rose together and escorted Cato to the prison. Having caused this reproach, Caesar checked himself and bade Cato be released."——**calumniarum**: By threatening him with an investigation of his acts while in Asia.——**ad plebem transire**: in order that he might be eligible for the office of tribune. Cf. Vell. 2. 45.——**induxit Vettium.** This is the emendation generally accepted for the MS. reading *inductum* . . . and *inductum quendam*, the latter undoubtedly a gloss, and found in only one MS. That the person bribed to carry out the plot was Vettius, is evident from Cic. ad Att. 2. 24, who

says: "It appears to me certain that Vettius, the man who used to be my informer, has promised Caesar to contrive that the younger Curio shall fall under suspicion of plotting." See the whole passage.

21. Pompeium primum rogare sententiam coepit. The regular order of rogation, as we are informed by Aulus Gellius (4. 10, and 14. 7) was (1) the princeps senatus; (2) the consuls elect; (3) men of consular rank; (4) men of praetorian rank; (5) the senatores pedarii, who wore the *tunica laticlavia* with broad purple stripe, and received the name 'pedarii' because they could only concur in the vote of others (*pedibus ire*). Thus it will be seen that the *princeps senatus* was not the same as the presiding officer (*praeses*). On the passage of our author, Gellius says: *C. Caesar in consulatu quem cum M. Bibulo gessit, quattuor solos extra ordinem rogasse sententiam dicitur. Ex his quattuor principem rogabat M. Crassum; sed, postquam filiam Cn. Pompeo desponderat, primum coeperat Pompeium rogare.* See Aug. § 35, fin.

[At the end of § 22 the following words have been omitted from the text: "ac negante quodam per contumeliam facile hoc ulli feminae fore, responderet quasi alludens, 'in Syria quoque regnasse Semiramin, magnamque Asiae partem Amazonas tenuisse quondam.'"]

23. Functus consulatu. Suet. several times uses *fungor* with the accusative. For instances, see Introd. 13.——**irritas.** *in* + *ratus*.——**abiit.** Cf. Caes. B. G. 1. 7. *Caesar cum id nuntiatum esset eos* (Helvetios) *per provinciam nostram iter facere conari maturat ab urbe proficisci.*——**eius in praeiudicium**: "as an example of what was going to happen to himself," i.e., as a precedent.——**reus**: > *accusator.*——**in magno negotio habuit**: "he deemed it important." Cf. *curae habuit*, Aug. § 48.——**qui sibi recepissent propugnaturos**: "who had promised him to defend him in his absence."——**absentiam** = *se absentem.* See Introd. 7 and 8. *Recipere* from the general sense of assuming (ἐνδέχομαι) passes into the allied particular meaning of assuming an obligation, hence to promise (ἀναδέχομαι).——**syngrapham**: "an agreement in writing."

24. vocabulo quoque Gallico, Alauda enim appellabatur. Alauda is the lark, an effigy of which the soldiers wore upon their helmets. Cf. Cic. Philipp. 1. 8. 20; *addo etiam iudices*

manuplares ex legione Alaudarum; id. Philipp. 5. 5. 13, *Alaudas iudices*, Philipp. 13. 2. 3, and Plin. H. N. 11. 37. 44. The word *alauda* (Low Latin *laudila*, Ducange) has its representatives in all the Romance languages, and is one of the few words that can positively be assigned to a Keltic origin. Cf. the Sicilian *lodana*, the O. Spanish *aloeta*, the Mod. Spanish *alondra*, the Provençal *alauza*, the Italian *allodola* (*lodola*), the O. French forms *aloe*, *aloue*, *aloëte*, and the Mod. French *alouette*. From the O. French comes the O. Norse *lôa*, on which Diez cites Grimm's Reineke Fuchs, p. 370. The following are the most probable of the explanations that have been given of the word: (a) *alauda* fr. the Breton *alchoueder* = *alaw* + *adar*, "bird of melody" (Villemarqué). (b) *alauda* = the Welsh *al*, "fine," and *awd*, "song;" hence, "fine-singer." (c) *alauda* = √AL, "high" and *chwedl*, "chant;" hence "soaring singer." (d) *alauda* = √AL, "high," and *awd*, "song," giving the same meaning as the preceding. Cf. Diefenbach in Zeitschriften für verg. Sprachf. IV, p. 391, and Diez, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Romanischen Sprachen, s. v. allodola. The Latin form has simply dropped the Keltic guttural. Diez notices that the names of other birds of the same general class are also from the Keltic, and cites as examples 'finch' (Ital. *pincione*, Span. *pinzon*, Fr. *pinçon*, all cognate with the Welsh *pinc*), and the Port. *catovia*, Sp. *totovia*, and Fr. *cochevis*, from the Breton *kodioch*. Cf. Mahn, Etymol. Untersuch., p. 23. Other words in Latin to which a Keltic origin is to be assigned are *balteus*, a belt; *bardus* (Cornish *bardh*, Bret. *barz*, and originally meaning "a speaker"); *bascauda* (Mart. 14. 99; Juv. 6. 46), a basket; *caballus*, a nag; *cerevisia*, beer; *emarcus*, a vine; *gaesum*, a javelin; *galba*, a worm; *langa*, a lizard; *mannus* = *caballus*; *petorritum*, a carriage; *reda*, id.; *rufius*, a lynx; *sagum*, a cloak; *samolus*, brook-weed; *soldurius*, a vassal; *taxea*, lard; *tufa*, a crest (Eng. *top*); *urus*, a wild ox; *vargus*, a stroller; *vertagus*, a greyhound; and many others.——**decedentibus** = *cedentibus*, as *praeponentes* for *ponentes* in § 20.——**plurium quam quisquam umquam dierum**: note the order and the homoeoteleuton. See Introd. 10, *c*.

25. Omnem Galliam. Cf. Caes. B. G. 1. 1.——**Gebenna**: now Cevennes.——**quadringenties**: sc. centena milia sestertiûm. Cf. A. and G. 96 and 379. The word quadringenties is here

supplied in the text, from Eutrop. 6. 14 (Dietsch): *Gallia autem tributi nomine annuum imperavit sestertium quadringenties.* Roth allows the lacuna to stand.——**ponte fabricato**: Caes. B. G. 4. 17; Plutarch. Caes. 22; Dio Cass. 39. 48.——**classe absumpta.** Caes. B. G. 5. 10.——**legione fusa.** id. ib. 7. 51.——**legatis caesis.** id. ib. 5. 24-37.

26. Publi Clodi caede. At the hands of Milo, B.C. 52. Cf. Vell. 2. 47.——**nullum . . . genus.** Introd. 10, *c.*——**de manubiis**: *praeda* is the booty; *manubiae* the money derived from the sale of the booty.——**domesticatim**: *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.* Introd. 4.——**sicubi** = si + quobi. So, *sicunde.*——**infestis spectatoribus.** Cf. Juvenal, 3. 36.——**exercentibus.** Used absolutely for *se exercentibus.*

27. condicionem ei detulit: "offered to him as a match." So, *circumspectis condicionibus Tiberium privignum suum elegit,* Aug. § 63.——**congiario prosequebantur**: *prosequor* is technically used (1) of acting as an escort, and (2) of any flattering attention, as here and in Aug. § 49.

28. citra . . . auctoritatem: "without regard to the authority of the Senate and the people." This use of *citra* is post-Aug., and often found in Quintilian, who thus employs it more than twenty times (L. and S.). In Suet. cf. *citra commoda,* Aug. § 24; and *citra honorem,* id. § 66.——**superque**: "and besides." Cf. the phrase *satis superque* in Cic. de Amicit. 13.——**ratio** = *petitio.*——**eo capite**: "in that clause."——**in aerarium**: where the laws after being cut upon tablets were preserved. Cf. Aug. § 94. The accusative with *in* is used regularly with *condere,* because of the implied motion in the idea of placing. With *colloco, statuo,* etc., the ablative with *in* is the regular construction. Cf. A. and G. 260, *a.* In Cic. Verr. 2. 4. 63, *conditas in aerario* exhibits the same use of *condere.*——**privilegium.** A law relating to a single person.

29. insequenti anno. B.C. 49.——**fratri patrueli**: a cousin on the father's side of the family, opposed to *consobrinus,* a cousin on the mother's side, for which *frater matruelis* is a late Latin expression. Suet. (Calig. § 26, Claud. § 26) uses *consobrinus* of any relative = *parens.*——**Curionem.** Son of the Curio mentioned in § 9 Cf. Vell. 2. 48: *vir nobilis, eloquens, audax, suae alienaeque et fortunae et pudicitiae prodigus, homo ingenio·*

sissime nequam et facundus malo publico. See also Dio Cass. 40. 60.——**ingenti mercede**: according to Val. Max. in the passage, 9. 1. 6. 60,000,000 sesterces.——**designatos etiam consules**: C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus.——**deprecatus est.** Here *de* is intensive, and has the force of an adverb. The adverb *de*, when used alone, occurs only in the expression *susque deque*, on which see Gellius, 16. 9, and for which in classical prose see Cic. ad Att. 14. 6 1. In *deprecor* it often has the true prepositional force, and hence *deprecor* often = *depello.* Cf. *κατά*, which at times is an intensive, as in *κατάγνυμι*, "to break to pieces," in Hom. Odyss. 9. 283, and again often in its prepositional sense. Occasionally *deprecor* seems to blend two notions (1) of begging off from reproach, and (2) of reviling in turn, as in the poem of Catullus (Carm. 92.) cited by Gellius (7. 16. 2, Hertz) *deprecor illam Assidue.*

30. praetextum: a post-Aug. word for the Ciceronian *species.* So Aug. § 12.——**opera.** Cf. § 26.——**Milonis exemplo**: At the trial of Milo for the assassination of Clodius the court was guarded by the soldiers of Pompey, to prevent the intimidation of the judges. Cf. Lucan, Phars. 1. 323: *Pompeiana reum clauserunt signa Milonem.*——**Pharsalica acie.** A favorite expression of Suet. Cf. *una profligavit acie*, § 35, and the following: §§ 63, 75; Aug. § 12, and often.——**de Officiis tertio libro.** The passage reads: *ipse autem socer in ore semper Graecos versus de Phoenissis habebat, quos dicam ut potero incondite fortasse sed tamen ut res possit intellegi* (then follow the lines given in the text). The quotation is from the *Phoenissae*, 524, being there put into the mouth of Eteocles. The lines are also cited by Plutarch in his comparison of Nicias with Crassus.——**sic ipse convertit**: sc. in Latinum. Cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. 3. 14. 29: *licet enim in Latinum illa convertere.*

31. tribunorum: i.e., Antony and Q. Cassius. Cf. Caes. Bell. Civil. 1. 5. *Profugiunt statim ex urbe tribuni plebis seseque ad Caesarem conferunt.* Lucan Phars. 1. 266, has the following:

> Expulit ancipiti discordes urbe tribunos
> Victo iure minax iactatis curia Gracchis:
> Hos iam nota ducis vicinaque signa petentes
> Audax venali comitatur Curio lingua.

——**intercessionem.** Cic. (Philipp. 2. 21) calls it the "pestifera intercessio" of Antony.——**ad lucem**: "about daybreak."——**Iacta alea est!** Plutarch gives it in Greek as *ἀνερρίφθω κύβος*. Another reading in our text is *esto.*

33. equestres census. i.e., 400,000 sesterces.——**ius anulorum** = dignitas equestris. The gold ring was the badge of equestrian rank, but was made less honorable as a distinction by the frequent extension of the privilege to others. Thus under Sulla, the actor Roscius received permission to wear the ring. Tiberius tried to heighten the value of the badge by confining it to those knights whose grandfathers as well as fathers had been free-born men, but this restriction soon ceased to exist.——**fama distulit**: "rumor spread it abroad."

34. summa: "the substance."——**sic se habent.** So more fully *ita se res habet*, Cic. Verr. 2. 2. 50; and more briefly *sic habet*, Hor. Sat. 1. 9. 53, both answering to the Greek *οὕτως ἔχει.* Cf. *sic est*, Ter. Adelph. 4. 5. 21, as in English; and *non est ita*, Cic. de Off. 1. 44.——**transfretaturi.** Post-Aug. verb. ——**urbe repetita.** While there before, he forced open the aerarium and helped himself to the public treasure, threatening the tribune Metellus with death if he made any disturbance. "Arms and laws have each their own time," he is reported to have said on this occasion.

37. quinquies. Numeral adverbs if formed from cardinals are properly written with the termination *-ies*; otherwise they end in *-iens* as *totiens*, *quotiens*, etc. This rule, however, is not always strictly observed. Cf. Neue, Lat. Formenlehre, II. 171–5.——**Velabrum**: a street on the Aventine named from the booths with awnings (*velabra*) that lined it. Plautus (Capt. 3. 1. 29) makes Ergasilus speak of *in Velabro olearii*, and the street seems to have been given up to dealers in oil, butter, and cheese. The ancients, however, refer the name Velabrum to *velum*, a sail, and explain it by the alleged fact that the place was once a navigable lake. Cf. Tibullus, 2. 5. 33: *At qua Velabri regio patet, ire solebat Exiguus pulsa per vada linter aqua.* See also Propert. 5. 9. 5. (Müll.): *Qua Velabra suo stagnabant flumine quaque Nauta per urbanas velificabat aquas.* Other streets at Rome were likewise devoted to particular trades. Thus the Argiletum was the home of the book-trade, and the Vicus

Sandaliarius of the shoe-trade, though later also of the book-trade.——**ascenditque Capitolium.** The regular order of procedure in a *triumphus iustus* was as follows: (1) the opening of all the temples, and their decoration with garlands, etc.; (2) the address of the imperator to his assembled troops, concluding with a distribution of money to each man; (3) the meeting with the Senate and magistrates at the Porta Triumphalis; (4) the triumphal procession along the Via Sacra in the following order,—the Senate and magistrates, trumpeters, the spoils and *fercula*, flute-players, the bulls or cattle for sacrifice together with the priests and their attendants, the arms and standards of the conquered generals, these generals and their kinsmen, the whole body of prisoners in chains, the crowns bestowed upon the imperator by foreign princes, the lictors of the imperator with their fasces, the imperator himself in the triumphal chariot drawn by four horses and attended by the *servus publicus* holding over his head a golden crown, the sons of the imperator (who sometimes, however, rode upon the horses of their father's chariot, for which see Tib. § 6), and finally the whole body of the troops in heavy marching order, decorated with laurel and shouting and singing; (5) the murder of several of the captive generals in the prison near the Capitol; (6) religious offerings and sacrifices; (7) a public feast to which the consuls were invited, though they followed the old precedent of staying away in order that the imperator might be the greatest and most distinguished person present.——**trium verborum.** Florus (4. 2. 63) says: *Nec vana de se praedicatio est Caesaris ante victum hostem esse quam visum.* Plutarch (Caes. 50) says: *πρός τινα τῶν φίλων Ἀμάντιον ἔγραψε τρεῖς λέξεις. Ἦλθον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα.*

38. totidem olei libras: this is probably the only passage where *libra* is used of liquid measure.——**viscerationem**: "a public distribution of meat."——**prandia**: used of public meals of bread, cold meat, and fish, at which no wine was served.

39. per omnium linguarum histriones. So Aug. § 43.——**naumachiam.** Further on he uses the pure Latin term *navale proelium*. See Introd. 2.——**depugnavit** = pugnavit. See Introd. 13, *c*.——**Pyrricham.** The Pyrrhic dance (*saltatio*) seems to have been first introduced among the public games at Rome on this occasion. It is afterward mentioned as having been ex-

hibited by Nero (Nero § 12), by Caligula (Dio Cass. 60. 7), and by Hadrian (Spart Hadr. 19). It seems to have originated in a sort of military drill, its movements being those of attack and defence, and was danced to the flute played in quick time. From its rapid movement comes the name of the metrical foot, the Pyrrhic (⏑⏑), and the double Pyrrhic or proceleusmatic (⏑⏑⏑⏑). See Dict. of Antiq. s. v. *saltatio.*——**ludis** : sc. scenicis.——**Decimus Laberius eques.** Macrobius (Sat. 2. 7. 2) says: *Laberium asperae libertatis equitem Romanum Caesar quingentis milibus invitavit ut prodiret in scaenam et ipse ageret mimos quos scriptitabat. Sed potestas non solum si invitet sed etiam si supplicet cogit, unde se et Laberius a Caesare coactum in prologo testatur.* Macrobius preserves the part of the prologue in which Laberius complains of the indignity put upon him:

> Ego bis tricenis annis actis sine nota
> Eques Romanus [e] Lare egressus meo
> Domum revertar mimus.

In the course of the play, personating a lashed slave, Laberius uttered the significant line:

> Porro, Quirites, libertatem perdimus!

and again the famous verse:

> Necesse est multos timeat quem multi timent;

upon which, says Macrobius: *universitas populi ad solum Caesarem oculos et ora convertit, notantes impotentiam eius hac dicacitate lapidatam.* Of the mimes that Laberius wrote, we have the titles of forty-four. See Macrob 2. 6. 6 sq.; Seneca, in Controv. 7. p. 207 and 414 (Bu.); Gell. 8. 15. (lemm.); 16. 7.; Grysar, *De Mimo Romanorum*, and Teuffel, § 179. 4.——**in quattuordecim** : sc. ordinibus. The first fourteen rows of seats back of the orchestra, reserved by the law of L. Roscius Otho (B.C. 67) to members of the equestrian order, a law so unpopular at the time of its enactment that its author was hissed on his next appearance at the theatre. Cf. Juvenal, 3. 153–159, and Prof. Mayor's note on the passage. See also Aug. § 14 and § 40, and Appian, 5. 15. In the former place we have the full expression *in quattuordecim ordinibus.*——**equos desultorios**: "horses ridden bareback." The name *desultor* was given to the acrobat who leaped from horse to horse while riding at full

speed. Cf. Livy. 44. 9: *semel quadrigis, semel desultore misso vix unius horae tempus utrumque curriculum complebat.* For *desultorius = desultor* cf. Cic. pro Muren. 27. 57.—— **Troiam.** So Aug. § 43: *Troiae lusum edidit frequentissime maiorum minorumque puerorum prisci decorique moris existimans.* Cf. Verg. Aen. 5. 545 sq. With *maiorum minorumque* sc. natu.——**commissis** : "matched."——**in Minore Codeta** : a field across the Tiber, so called from a kind of plant that grew there, *codeta*, fr. *cauda.*——**tantum hominum.** With this cf. *tantum hostium intra muros est*, Livy, 3. 17. 4., *sed quid hic tantum hominum incedunt?* Plaut. Poen. 3. 3. 5.——**prae turba.** In strictly classical Latin *prae* in this sense is only used with an expressed or implied negative. Cf. Roby, 2056.

40. fastos correxit. The oldest Roman year is said to have consisted of 10 months, beginning with March, of which 4 had 31 days (*pleni menses*), and the rest 30 days each (*cavi menses*). The *pleni menses* were March, May, July, and October. Hence this so-called Year of Romulus had 304 days. Macrobius (1. 12. 39) says that to this year the days necessary to complete a solar year were added as a supplementary month which received no definite name until later. Numa's Year was one of 12 months, counting in all 355 days, i.e., a lunar year and one day more. As this was about 11 days short of the true year an intercalary month was inserted after February every two years, containing 22 or 23 days. The Year of the Decemviri contained 12 months, of which March, May, July, and October had 31 days each, February 28 days, and the remaining 7 months 29 days each,—in all 355 days. This was corrected by an intercalary month called *Mercedonius* (Μερκηδόνιος). Caesar, assisted by Sosigenes, a Peripatetic philosopher of Alexandria, and Flavius, a Roman scholar, introduced (B.C. 45) the modifications that converted the year into that which is now, with or without the Gregorian modifications, used by all civilized nations, and which from its author received the name of the Julian Year. See Aug. § 31; Macrob. S. 1. 12–14; Plutarch, Caes. 59; Dio Cass. 43. 26; Ovid, Fast. 3. 155 sq.; Pliny, H. N. 18. 25.; id. 18. 57. The regulation of the year by Caesar was made the subject of complaint by his enemies, who were continually on the watch for something that could be used against him with the people.

Cicero made one of his jokes upon the subject. When some one happened to remark that the constellation Lyra would rise upon a certain day, the orator replied, "Undoubtedly; there is an edict to that effect;" as though Caesar's rule had been extended even to the heavenly bodies. Changes in the calendar have always caused popular discontent. In England, when the Gregorian changes were made, on the adoption of the New Style, in 1752, the date being set on eleven days, mobs paraded the streets bearing placards inscribed, "Give us back our eleven days!" for in the opinion of the rabble, each man's life had been lessened to just that extent by Act of Parliament!

41. Senatum supplevit. For the character of some of his new senators see § 80, and Aug. § 35.——**magistratuum numerum ampliavit.** As did also Augustus, who *nova officia excogitavit*, Aug. § 37.——**nudatos opere**, etc. Observe the chiastic order.——**pronuntiarentur** : "should be appointed." So Livy, 24. 27.——**illum et illum** : "so-and-so." Cf. *ille aut ille* in Cic. Sex. Rosc. Amerin. 21. 59.——**proscriptorum liberos** : contrary to the law of Sulla, enacted B.C. 80. Cf. Velleius, 2. 43. **Recensum populi** : i.e., with reference to the distribution of corn, as appears from what follows. Cf. Appian. Bell. Civ. 2. 120.; Plutarch, Pomp. 50.——**nec more nec loco solito** : that is, not by the customary officers (the censors, and the public scribes appointed by the Senate), nor in the Campus Martius.——**vicatim per dominos insularum** : "ward by ward, by the aid of the owners of tenements." An *insula* comprised originally a single lodging-house, of considerable height and of rather flimsy construction. Later, and in the passage before us, it seems to mean a "block" of houses built together around a common court. In Rome, according to Preller, there were some 1780 private houses and 44,000 *insulae*. Suet. Ner. § 38, speaks of *immensum numerum insularum*. The person in charge was known as *insularius* (Dig. 7. 8. 16), and must be distinguished from *dominus insulae*, the owner. Cf. Vitruv. 2. 8; Cic. pro Cael. 7, and Becker's Gallus, Excursus I.——**qui recensi non essent**: i.e., who had not been enrolled among those entitled to receive corn at the public expense. The *subsortitio* was the choice of substitutes by lot.

42. colonias : especially Corinth and Carthage, as appears from Plutarch, Caes. 57. "To please his army he sent out col-

onies to a number of places, of which Carthage and Corinth were the most noted; which as before they had been laid in ruins at the same time, so now they were restored and repopulated together."——**qui pecuariam facerent**: "who were engaged in cattle-breeding."——**medicinam professos**. Suet. uses the noun *professores* in Tiber. § 11, *circa scholas et auditoria professorum ;* and in Rhet. § 5, *Sextus Clodius . . . eloquentiae professor.*——**per aestimationem possessionum quanti**, etc. According to the assessed value of their property, rated according to what they had acquired before the civil war.——**cuncta collegia.** "All the clubs," i.e., guilds and semi-secret associations of artisans and work-people, organizations that could readily be converted into political engines, and hence viewed with distrust by Caesar and his successors (cf. Aug. § 32), as has also been the case in modern times in despotic countries. The chief objection to the Christians on the part of the Roman emperors seems to have arisen from a suspicion that their frequent meetings had a mysterious and semi-political color. On the guilds at Rome cf. Plutarch, Numa 17, and Josephus, Antiq. 14. 10, 8.——**ut Cicero scribit.** Burmann ingeniously suggests that these words are more properly to be inserted in the text after *exsulabant*, and will then refer to the passage pro Caecina, 34., *exsilium non supplicium est*, etc. More probably, however, the passage in Cic. referred to by Suet. has not come down to us.

43. Legem praecipue sumptuarium exercuit : "enforced." Sumptuary laws were at a very early period known to the Romans, and continued to remain one of the many proofs of the paternalism so characteristic of all the governments established by the Latin races. The censors in general exercised the restrictive power afterwards embodied in specific laws; and set the *nota censoria* upon many whose luxury of living seemed inconsistent with the traditions of the Republic. Thus Cornelius Rufinus, though he had been twice consul, besides holding the dictatorship and securing the honor of a triumph, was expelled from the Senate for having ten pounds of silver plate when the law allowed only eight ounces (Gell. 4. 8. 7). The Lex Oppia, enacted during the second Punic War, regulated the extravagance of women, forbidding any woman to own more than half an ounce of gold, or wear a particolored dress, or ride in a

carriage in the vicinity of any city or town (Valer. Max. 9. 1. 3). The Lex Orchia (B.C. 181) checked extravagance in feasting (Macrob. 3. 17), as did also the Lex Fannia (B.C. 161), which forbade more than one fowl to be served up at a single dinner (Gell. 2. 24, where a list of other sumptuary laws is given). The Lex Licinia regulated, among other things, expenditure at marriage entertainments. The Lex Cornelia (B.C. 81) reiterated the provisions of the preceding (Gell. l. c.). The Twelve Tables checked extravagance at funerals (Cic. de Leg. 2. 23–25). Livy, (10. 13) speaking of the Licinian Law, says : *eo anno plerisque dies dicta ab aedilibus quia plus quam quod lege finitum erat agri possiderent.* The sumptuary regulations enforced by Caesar seem to be alluded to by Cic. ad Fam. 7. 26, and id. ib. 9. 15. Many other sumptuary regulations made on special occasions are also recorded. Caesar used the power of sumptuary restriction to augment the population, granting to mothers of three children the right of riding in a litter, of wearing purple, and of adorning themselves with pearls. Augustus enacted a sumptuary law (Aug. § 34); Tiberius curtailed the salaries of actors, and recommended a number of sumptuary measures—the regulation of the price of Corinthian brass, the lessening of the prices charged by butchers, and expressed much indignation because three mullets had been sold for 30,000 sesterces. He wished also to prohibit the sale of pastry in eating-houses (Tib. § 34). Domitian regulated the price of slaves (Domit. § 7), as afterward did Justinian.

44. de tuendo ampliandoque imperio. Plutarch mentions among the designs that Caesar had formed, the following: a war against the Parthians; the complete subjugation of Germany; a canal across the isthmus of Corinth; the diversion of the Tiber from its course by a deep channel direct from Rome to Circeii and thence to Tarracina and the sea; the redemption of a vast tract of land by draining the Pomptine Marshes; the removal of hidden rocks and the deepening of the water at Ostia; and the creation of new ports with moles, docks, and commodious harbors.——**complanato lacu.** So *complanata fossuris montium iuga*, Calig. § 37, and supra, § 39.——**ius civile ad certum modum redigere** : which Cicero had already attempted to do. Cf. Gell. 1. 22. 7. *M. autem Cicero in libro qui inscriptus est De Iure*

Civili in Artem Redigendo.——**bibliothecas . . . publicare** : "to open libraries to the public." In this sense, *publicare* is Post Aug. Cf. *libellos vetuit Augustus publicare*, in § 56; and *extra ordinem publicare*, Aug. § 43. The first library opened to the public at Rome was that built by Asinius Pollio ten years after Caesar's death, and mentioned in Aug. § 29. Four years later (B.C. 30), Augustus decided to carry out the plan which the text before us attributes to Julius, and to found a great library under the control of the State. Five imperial libraries finally arose: (1) the Bibliotheca Octaviae, (2) the Bibliotheca Palatina Apollinis, of which C. Julius Hyginus was the librarian; (3) the Bibliotheca Tiberiana, founded by Tiberius and famous as a reference library for state papers and public documents; (4) Bibliotheca Vespasiana in the Forum Pacis; (5) Bibliotheca Traiana, the most magnificent of all, and renowned for its collection of books written upon leaves of ivory. Books could be borrowed by private individuals, as the passage in Gellius (19. 5. 4.) seems to prove. The number of books in a public library seems to have ranged from 100,000 to 700,000, which latter number is given by Gellius as that of the volumes in the two Alexandrian libraries of the Bruchion and the Serapeion, See the very interesting chapter on Roman Libraries in Prof. Lanciani's Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries.

45. animo linqui : "subject to fainting-fits."——**comitiali quoque morbo.** Epilepsy gets the name here applied to it because an attack of the disease was considered ill-omened, and hence led to the adjournment of the comitia. From the suddenness of the attacks and the horrible appearance of the sufferer it seems to have been regarded as a special visitation of divine displeasure, and hence Celsus styles it *morbus maior* and *morbus sacer*. As such, it was customary for those present at the time of the attack to spit upon the patient, and hence Plautus calls it *morbus qui sputatur* (Capt. 3. 4. 18), and speaks of epileptics as those *quibus insputari saluti fuit* (id. 3. 4. 23). Cf. Pliny, H. N. 10. 23. 33, and 28. 4. 7. Spitting seems to have been regarded as having some specific virtue in cases of disease. Varro (R. R. 1. 2. 27) gives a charm to be used against foot-ache, with the direction that the sufferer shall sing it thrice nine times, touch the ground, and spit. Cf. also St. John, 9. 6.——**bis.** At

Corduba in Spain, and once in Africa.——**morosior** : "very fastidious." On *morosus* cf. Gell. 4. 9. 12.——**sed velleretur etiam** : "but even had his hair plucked out by the roots." Cf. Gell. 6. 12. 4, and see Aug. § 79. A very rare use of *vello*, except in the perfect participle, which often has the meaning "shorn," "smooth." Cf. *vulsi levatique*, Quint. Inst. 2. 5. 12.——**a vertice** : "it had been his custom to comb his scanty hair back upon the crown of his head." For *a vertice*, in this sense, cf. such phrases as *a tergo*, *a latere*, *ab ea parte*, etc., used of place where. E.g., *a Tiberi*, *on* Tiber's side, Livy, 40. 51. For one of the *obtrectatorum joci*, see the verse sung by his soldiers and cited in § 51.——**lato clavo ad manus fimbriato.** A tunic with fringed sleeves extending to the wrist. The Latin language, like the Greek, tolerates great inexactness in the use of names of the parts of the body. Here *manus* means the "wrists," for which there is no word in classical Latin. So *pes* is used of the leg in Aug. de Civ. Dei, 22. 22; *crus* of the foot in Ovid, Met., 11. 74; *talus* (properly the ankle) of the heel in Cic. pro Cluent. 40, 111; and so *bracchium*, often used loosely of the whole arm. So too, in Greek, πούς of both foot and leg, Hom. Od. 4. 149; χείρ of the arms, Iliad, 6. 81; and ὦμος of the arms, Hdt. 2. 106.——**Sullae dictum.** Cf. note on § 1.

46. in Subura : a somewhat disreputable quarter of the city, with a dense population, and noisy. Martial (12. 18. 2) calls it *clamosa Subura*, and in 7. 31. 11 speaks of its many shops; Juvenal (11. 51), *fervens Subura;* and both Persius (5. 32) and Martial (11. 78. 11) mention it as the resort of prostitutes. It lay between the Esquiline and Viminal hills.——**domo publica** : "in an official residence."——**in Nemorensi**, sc. agro. Near Aricium. The place gets its name from the grove of the temple of Diana near by. Cf. Cic. ad Attic. 6. 1. 25. *Caesarem in Nemore aedificando diligentiorem fore.*——**quia non tota**, etc., "because it did not altogether suit his taste."——**sectilia pavimenta** = *λιθόστρωτα.* See Becker's Gallus, Excursus I. scene 2.

47. spe margaritarum. Tacit. (Agric. 12) speaks of the pearls of Britain as off-color. Plutarch (Caes. 23) says: "His expedition into Britain was the most famous proof of his courage; for he was the first who brought a navy into the Western Ocean, or who sailed into the Atlantic with an army for the pur-

pose of making war."——**toreumata** : "embossed work." Cf. Sallust. Cat. 22, *tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt.*——**servitia rectiora**, etc. Abstract for the concrete *servos rectiores politiores-que.* For *rectus* in this sense cf. Catull. 10. 20: *Non possem octo homines parare rectos;* and see infra, § 56, *recti et venusti.* For the metonymy consult Introd. 7, *b.*

48. convivatum, sc. est. Impersonal use.——**sagati palliative**: the *sagati* were his own officers wearing the sagum or military cloak; the *palliati*, the Greeks of distinction in his retinue; the *togati*, Romans who chanced to be in the province. *Sagatus* is sometimes used of a soldier as opposed to a civilian for the more usual *armatus* or *caligatus.*

[Section 49, omitted in the text, reads as follows: Pudicitiae eius famam nihil quidem praeter Nicomedis contubernium laesit, gravi tamen et perenni obprobrio et ad omnium convicia exposito. Omitto Calvi Licini notissimos versus:

> Bithynia quicquid
> Et paedicator Caesaris umquam habuit.

Praetereo actiones Dolabellae et Curionis patris, in quibus eum Dolabella 'pelicem reginae, spondam interiorem regiae lecticae,' ac Curio 'stabulum Nicomedis et Bithynicum fornicem' dicunt. Missa etiam facio edicta Bibuli, quibus proscripsit 'collegam suum Bithynicam reginam, eique antea regem fuisse cordi, nunc esse regnum.' Quo tempore, ut Marcus Brutus refert, Octavius etiam quidam, valitudine mentis liberius dicax, conventu maximo, cum Pompeium regem appellasset, ipsum reginam salutavit. Sed C. Memmius etiam ad cyathum et vinum Nicomedi stetisse obicit, cum reliquis exoletis, pleno convivio, accubantibus nonnullis urbicis negotiatoribus, quorum refert nomina. Cicero vero non contentus in quibusdam epistulis scripsisse, a satellitibus eum in cubiculum-regium eductum in aureo-lecto, veste purpurea decubuisse, floremque aetatis a Venere orti in Bithynia contaminatum, quondam etiam in senatu defendenti ei Nysae causam, filiae Nicomedis, beneficiaque regis in se commemoranti "Remove," inquit, "istaec, oro te; quando notum est, et quid ille tibi et quid illi tute dederis." Gallico denique triumpho milites eius inter cetera carmina, qualia currum prosequentes ioculariter canunt, etiam illud vulgatissimum pronuntiaverunt:

> Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem:
> Ecce Caesar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias,
> Nicomedes non triumphat qui subegit Caesarem.]

50. Auli Gabini : the author of the famous law investing Pompey with extraordinary powers against the pirates. Cic. Leg. Man. 17. 52.——**Marci Bruti matrem** : so that Brutus was popularly believed to be Caesar's son. Cf. note on § 82.——**Tertia deducta** : a double pun, for not only is Tertia a proper name as well as suggestive of *tertia* (*pars*), but *deducta* has, besides its ordinary meaning, an indecent one, as in Calig. § 25, *Liviam ad se deduci imperavit.* Macrob. Sat. 2. 2. 5 gives Cicero's words as *Quo melius emptum sciatis, comparavit Servilia hunc fundum tertia deducta.* Cicero's fondness for puns and rather cheap wit is noticed by many of the ancient writers. Quintilian says of him (6. 3. 3): *non solum extra iudicia sed in ipsis etiam orationibus habitus est nimius risus affectator.* A collection of his puns is also mentioned by the same writer (6. 3. 5) in his chapter de Risu: *libertus eius Tiro aut alius, quisquis fuit, qui tres hac de re libros edidit*; and in 8. 6. 73: *Cicero in quodam ioculari libello.* Macrobius, in the chapter cited above, has preserved a number of these jokes, as has Plutarch in his Life of Cicero, which see, especially 38. When Cicero joined Pompey at the time of the civil war, his cutting jests were exceedingly distasteful to that general, who is reported as having said : *Cupio ad hostes Cicero transeat ut nos timeat!* See Mayor's note on Cic. Philipp. 2. 16., and Klotz, Fragm. p. 295.——**conciliare** : for the word in this sense cf. Catull. 68. 130.

51. iactato aeque a militibus. Even in the most despotic period of the later Empire there seem to have been two occasions when popular license of speech was not checked—at the games and on the occasion of a triumph. For the former see Tib. § 47, where it is stated that Tiberius was forced to manumit the comic actor Actius by reason of the clamor of the people (see also Inge, Roman Society, pp. 82–83); and for the latter, Martial's epigram (1. 4), in which he asks that Caesar will read the poet's verse with the same indulgence that he grants to the soldiers on the occasion of a triumph: *Consuevere iocos vestri quoque ferre triumphi Materiam dictis nec pudet esse ducem.* With the verse given in the text may be compared many of the songs

popular among the English sailors of Nelson's time, and the barrack songs of the British army.

52. Dilexit. This use of the verb is not that which is more common in classical Latin. As a rule, *diligo* is rather "regard," "esteem," or "love" as between relatives (cf. Ter. Andr. 1. 5. 57. *te in germani fratris dilexi loco*), as ἀγαπάω in Greek, while *amo* rather represents ἐράω. But Suet. several times uses *diligo* of sexual love, as here, and in the passage just preceding this, *dilexit Serviliam*, § 50.——**ut Naso scripsit.** M. Actorius Naso mentioned in § 9.——**nave thalamego**: "a cabined ship." *thalamegus* is best taken here as an adjective, retaining the same form that it would have in Greek, where it is an adj. of two terminations. It is found in Strabo, however, as a substantive. The pure Latin expression is *navis cubiculata*, which occurs only in Sen. de Benev. 7. 20. 3.——**Aethiopia tenus**: *tenus* regularly follows its case, as do *erga* and *penes* often. Cicero uses *propter* post-positively with pronouns, and rarely *ante*, *circa*, *circum*, *contra*, and *de* with relatives. Cf. Roby, 1805.——**penetravit**. For *penetrasset*, the apodosis of *nisi recusasset* infra. For this irregular construction see Galba, § 10, *servi . . . transeuntem paene interemerunt nisi expressa cruciatu confessio esset.* Hase cites Tacit. Ann. 16. 32: *in amplexus . . . filiae ruebat nisi interiecti lictores utrisque obstitissent.* See Roby, 1574., A. and G. 308, *b.*, and the examples cited in both these grammars.——**incessu**: "mien." For this rendering, which is not recognized in the lexicons, where *incessus* is restricted to "pace," "gait," cf. *incessu commodo Domum servavit* in the epitaph given in the Corp. Inscript. Lat. 1007.——**C. Matius**: an intimate friend of Cicero, of Caesar, and later of Augustus. A letter of his to Cicero is preserved (ad Fam. 11. 28).——**C. Oppium**: cf. Tacit. Ann. 12. 60, and Cic. ad Att. 4. 16.——**Helv. Cinna**: cf. § 85, where he is torn to pieces by mistake after Caesar's death. Not the poet of the same name (Teuffel, § 210, 2).——**liberorum quaerendorum causa**: a stock phrase among the Roman writers, and originally used in the oath made before the censors regarding a man's marriage. So Sp. Carvilius is famous for his divorce on the ground that he had sworn to the censor that he had married *liberorum quaerundorum causa;* so that having no children he was forced by religious scruples to put away

his wife. On this, see Gell. 4. 3, and for the phrase cf. *liberorum sibi quaesendûm gratia*, Ennius, Frag. 120 (Ribbeck, Trag. Rom. Frag.); *liberorum quaesundûm causa*, id. 97; *liberorum quaerundorum causa ei uxor data*, Plaut. Capt. 4. 2. 109.

53. vini parcissimum. For the genitive cf. A. and G. 218. *c.* Hk. 399. I. 3. So *pauper aquae*, Hor. C. 3. 30. 11. Velleius says (2. 41): *Magno illi Alexandro sed sobrio neque iracundo simillimus.* This indifference to the pleasures of the table forms one of the innumerable minor points of resemblance between Napoleon and Caesar. It cannot be said, however, that the Romans as a nation were given to hard drinking. It was, on the contrary, made the subject of unfavorable comment if a man neglected to dilute his wine with water (*vina castrari*, Plin. H. N. 19. 4. 19). Three Romans are especially noted for their propensity to drunkenness. The first is Antony whom Cicero taunts so bitterly on this failing in the Second Philippic. When intoxicated, he rode up and down the city in his chariot, and, so far from being ashamed of it, wrote a book on the subject of his own drunkenness (Pliny, H. N. 14. 22). The second is Cicero's son, to whom the treatise de Officiis is inscribed, and who thought to avenge his father's death on Antony by eclipsing the latter's reputation as a drunkard. The third is the Emperor Tiberius, who, when young, had his name punningly changed by the soldiers from Tiberius Claudius Nero to Biberius Caldius Mero. (Tib. § 42; Pliny, H. N. 14. 22, 143; and the *carmen ineditum*, cited by Burmann.)——**conditum oleum** : i.e., laid away and kept too long; hence, stale. Plutarch tells this story, and adds that Caesar rebuked his friends for grumbling, saying: "It is quite enough not to eat what you do not like; to criticise another's lack of breeding shows that one also lacks it himself."——**viridi**: "fresh," and so used of cheese in Columella, 7. 8. 1.

54. imperiis : in the provinces; *magistratibus*, in the city. ——**monumentis** : "his memoirs."——**promercale** : Post Aug. word. "He offered it for sale at retail."——**pondo** : indeclinable noun. So in Cic. pro Cluent. 64. 179, *auri quinque pondo.*

55. Eloquentia. So Quint. Inst. 10. 1. 114. *C. vero Caesar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur; tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio ut illum eodem animo dixisse quo bellavit appareat; exornat tamen haec*

omnia mira sermonis cuius proprie studiosus fuit, elegantia. See also id. ib. 2. 25, and 12. 10. 11.——**principibus patronis**: the word *patronus* comes to be equivalent to *advocatus* and *orator* from the necessity imposed upon the patronus of appearing for his cliens on occasion in the courts. Both terms then, patronus and cliens, take on a legal signification.——**Cicero ad Brutum.** Chap. 75. The passage reads: *Caesar autem rationem adhibens consuetudinem vitiosam et corruptam pura et incorrupta consuetudine emendat. Itaque cum ad hanc elegentiam verborum Latinorum . . . adiungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi, tum videtur tamquam tabulas bene pietas collocare in bono lumine. Hanc cum habeat praecipuam laudem in eommunibus, non video cui debeat cedere. Splendidam quandam minimeque veteratoriam rationem dicendi tenet, voce, motu, forma etiam magnificam et gencrosam quodammodo.* Cf. also Tac. Dial. 21.——**dum taxat.** Originally a legal term meaning "while one estimates." In ordinary language it means either "so far as," as in Lucret. 2. 123, *dumtaxat rerum magnarum parva potest res*; "only," "merely," as in the passage before us; .and "at least" = *saltem*, as in Aug. § 66, *aumtaxat modica.* The word is rather a favorite with Suet. Cf. § 75. Cicero uses the word in all its meanings, but Caesar has it only once (Bell. Civil. 2. 41).——**Strabonis Caesaris.** Cf. Cic. Brut. 48, *orator minime vehemens sed nemo lepore conditior.* The oration pro Sardis is mentioned by Cic. De Offic. 2. 14. 50; Tusc. Disp. 5. 37. 108. It was delivered by C. Julius Caesar Strabo against T Albucius for extortion practised against the Sardinians in his propraetorship, B.C. 133, and resulted in the exile of Albucius. The case is also alluded to in the orations against Verres. He wrote tragedies, as we learn from Asconius, of which the titles of three are known—the Adrastus, Tecmessa, and Teuthras.——**ad verbum**: "word for word." So *verbum de verbo* (Ter. Adelph. prol. 11); *verbum e verbo* (Cic. Acad. 2. 10. 31); *verbum pro verbo* (Cic. De Optim. Gen. Orat. 5. 14); *verbum verbo* (Horace, Ars Poet. 133). The adverb *verbatim* is not classical Latin.——**in divinationem suam**: "to his preliminary oration." The word *divinatio* as a legal tech. term means the examination held to decide which of several accusers should be allowed to conduct the case against the defendant. When Cicero was preparing the prosecution of

Verres, the friends of the latter put forward a sham accuser in the person of Q. Caecilius Niger, who, if permitted to conduct the case, would have made a farce of it. Against this trick Cicero pronounced the oration entitled the Divinatio in Caecilium, which secured to himself the right to prosecute. It was on this occasion that he perpetrated his pun *Quid Iudaeo cum verre?—verres* meaning a boar-pig, and Niger being a Jew. The Divinatio of Caesar referred to in the text is probably that against Dolabella, whose prosecution is mentioned in this chapter and in § 4.——**temere** : " improperly."——**Pro Q. Metello** : see § 16.——**actuaris** : " short-hand writers;" also known as *notarii*, and in Gk. as ταχύγραφοι, and σημειογράφοι (Plutarch, Cat. Min. 23). The invention of *notae* (see infra, § 56) is generally ascribed to Tiro, the freedman of Cicero, from whom we have a collection of abbreviations under the title of Notae Tironianae. See Kopp, Lexicon Tironianum, in his Palaeographia Critica, Mannheim, 1817. Isidorus (Orig. I. 22) says: *vulgares notas Ennius primus mille et centum invenit. Notarum usus erat ut quidquid pro contione aut in iudiciis diceretur, librarii scriberent simul astantes, divisis inter partibus quot quisque verba et quo ordine exciperet. Romae Tullius Tiro, Ciceronis libertus, commentus est notas sed tantum praepositionum. Post eum Vipsanius, Philargyrus, et Aquila, libertus Maecenatis, alius alias addiderunt. Denique Seneca contracto omnium digestoque et auctore numero opus effecit in quinque milia.* The Ennius mentioned above is not the poet, though often mistaken for him, but is rather the later grammarian mentioned by Suetonius, Grammat. § 1, as the author of two books on letters and syllables. Quint. (Inst. 11. 2. 25) says: *Habeamus enim sane ut qui notis scribunt certas imagines omnium et loca scilicet infinita per quae verba quot sunt in quinque contra Verrem secundae actionis libris explicentur ut meminerimus etiam omnium quasi depositorum*, etc. See also the Epigram of Ausonius (146), *Ad Notarium*, beginning:

> Puer, notarum praepetum
> Sollers minister, advola.
> Bipatens pugillar expedi
> Cui multa fandi copia
> Punctis peracta singulis
> Ut una vox absolvitur.

Valerius Probus de Jur. Not. Signif. 1. (quoted by L. and S. s. v. *nota*), says: *apud veteres cum usus notarum nullus esset propter scribendi difficultatem . . . quaedam verba atque nomina ex communi sensu primis litteris notabant et singulae litterae quid significarent in promptu erat.* Suet. (Tit. § 3) alludes to true stenographic signs: *E pluribus comperi notis quoque excipere velocissime solitum* (Titum) *cum amanuensibus suis per ludum iocumque certantem.* The Aquila mentioned in the passage above, cited from Isidorus, is the freedman of Maecenas spoken of in Dio Cass. 55. 7, where, however, Maecenas himself is said to have been the inventor of the system which Aquila afterward taught: *πρῶτος σημεῖά τινα γραμμάτων πρὸς τάχος ἐξεῦρε καὶ αὐτὰ διὰ Ἀκύλου ἀπελευθέρου συχνοὺς ἐξεδίδαξε.* Seneca (Epist. 20) credits the invention to freedmen: *Quid verborum notas, quibus quamvis citata excipitur oratio? Vilissimorum mancipiorum ista commenta sunt.* Suidas s. v. *Ἀκύλας*, possibly alludes to the same person: *Ἀκύλας γραμματικὸς καὶ μουσικός.* And again: *φιλόσοφος, σχόλια λογικὰ γεγραφὼς περὶ συλλογισμῶν* (p. 188 Bnh.). Isidorus in the first book of the Origines devotes six chapters (21–26) to the different kinds of *notae*, distinguishing them respectively as *notae sententiarum*, e.g. asterisks, the obelus, etc.; *notae vulgares*, short-hand; *notae iuridicae*, "abbreviations," e.g. B. F. infra, § 80; *notae militares ; notae litterarum*, a method of secret writing as in the passage below and Aug. § 88, on which Isidorus quotes a letter from Augustus to Tiberius; *notae digitorum*, the sign-language in its widest sense, used by the soldiers when on duty according to Isidorus. On the whole subject of ancient tachygraphy see the treatise of J. W. Ziebig, Dresden, 1863; Teuffel, § 178. 4; and the chapters from Isid. cited above, with the notes in the revision of F. Arevalus by Migne, Paris, 1878.——**priore proelio** : Ilerda. Cf. § 34.——**posteriore** : Munda, cf. § 36.

56. Cicero in eodem Bruto : i.e., the same as quoted in the preceding chapter. Brutus, 75.——**calamistris inurere**: cf. Aug. § 86, *myrobrechis cincinnos* of Maecenas.——**de Analogia duos libros.** In this book Caesar seems especially to have treated of the importance of the right choice of words, and in it occurs his famous dictum quoted by Gell. 1. 10. 4, that one should shun

every unusual word as if it were a reef. On this work of Caesar's, cf. Cic. Brut. 72; and Gell. 9. 14. 25; 19. 8. 3; Quint. Inst. 1. 7. 34; and Macrob. Sat. 1. 5. 2.——**Anticatones** : cf. Juv. 6. 338, *majorem quam sunt duo Caesaris Anticatones.* These pamphlets seem to have been written to counteract the effect of Cicero's eulogy on Cato, and to have been personal and scandalous in the extreme. Pliny in one of his letters (3. 12) relates an anecdote taken from one of the Anticatones, in which Cato is charged with being found drunk in the street: *quem tamen C. Caesar ita reprehendit ut laudet. Describit enim eos quibus obvius fuerit, cum caput ebrii retexissent erubuisse : deinde adicit 'putares non ab illis Catonem, sed illos a Catone deprehensos.'* On which Pliny comments thus: *potuitne plus auctoritatis tribui Catoni quam si ebrius quoque tam venerabilis erat?*——**poema** : Besides the poems mentioned in the text, Pliny in his Epistles (5. 3. 5) implies that he wrote erotic poems. That he was superior as a poet to Cicero we may infer from his epigrams, which are undoubtedly genuine—one on Terence, given by Suetonius in his Life of Terence, and the other beginning, *Thrax puer astricto glacie dum ludit in Hebro.* Both are excellent, and beautifully turned.——**per notas scripsit** : So of Aug. § 88, *per notas scribit.* See the passage, and cf. Gellius, 17. 9. 1–5.——**Dicta Collectanea** : called by Cicero (ad Fam. 9. 16. 4). ἀποφθέγματα: *audio Caesarem cum volumina iam confecerit* Ἀποφθεγμάτων *si quod afferatur ad eum pro meo quod meum non sit reicere solere.*——Suetonius does not mention a work on astronomy of which Macrobius speaks (Sat. 1. 16. 39).

57. capite detecto. Cf. Xen. Anab. 1. 8. 6 of Cyrus: Κῦρος δὲ ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο. And so Sil. Ital. 1. 250 of Hannibal: *tum vertice nudo Excipere insanos imbres caelique ruinam.*——**incredibili celeritate.** Another point of resemblance between Caesar and Napoleon. Cicero. in one of his letters to Atticus (8. 9), calls Caesar *hoc* τέρας *horribili vigilantia, celeritate.*——**innixus inflatis utribus.** Cf. Xen. Anab. 1. 5. 10, and for a mention of the fact in Caesar, cf. the Bell. Civil. 1. 48. 7. *Lusitani . . . quibus erat proclive tranare flumen quod consuetudo eorum omnium est ut sine utribus ad exercitum non eant.*

58. nisi ante per se portus . . . explorasset. Cf. Caes. B. G. 4. 21. *C. Volusenum cum navi longa praemittit. Huic mandat uti exploratis omnibus rebus ad se quam primum revertatur.* ——**cessantibus copiis**: "delaying their coming."——**obvoluto capite**: so *capite obvoluto* in Plaut. Most. 2. 1. 76.——**gubernatorem cedere adversae tempestati.** It was on this occasion that Caesar uttered his famous exhortation to the pilot: "Quid times? Caesarem vehis!" The story is told by Florus (4. 2. 37). See also Plut. Caes. 38; Val. Max. 9. 8. 2.

59. Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia. An exceedingly bad omen. If the victim even tugged at the rope when being led to sacrifice, it was considered unfortunate, and hence a very long slack rope was used. Cf. Juven. 12. 5. *Sed procul extensum petulans quatit hostia funem.* Cicero, Nat. Deor. 2. 3. 7, tells of the great misfortune that befell P. Clodius Pulcher at Drepanum for neglecting the omen given by the sacred chickens, which refused to eat when freed from the coop; whereupon *mergi eos in aquam iussit ut biberent quoniam esse nollent.* So Suet. Tib. § 2. Also Cicero adds: *Collega eius Iunius eodem bello nonne tempestate classem amisit cum auspiciis non paruisset?* and mentions besides the similar case of C. Flaminius Nepos at Lake Trasimenus. In the third book of the same treatise (3. 5) he again expresses a conviction of the importance of portents. On the other hand, in his work on divination (2. 71) he mentions the terrible defeat of Paullus at Cannae as following a strict adherence to the auspices. Of the incident mentioned in the present passage, Cic. in the same book says: *Ipse Caesar cum a summo haruspice moneretur ne in Africam ante brumam transmitteret, nonne transmisit? Quod ni fecisset uno in loco omnes adversariorum copiae convenissent.*——**verso ad melius omine.** According to Frontin. (1. 12. 2) his words were: "Teneo te, terra mater." Hase compares Dio Cass. 42. 58.——**despectissimum quendam ex Corneliorum genere.** So Plutarch, Caes. 52. "He was informed that the enemy relied greatly on an ancient oracular saying that the race of the Scipios should be always victorious in Africa. Now there was in his army a man, in other respects low and despicable, but of the house of the Africani, named Scipio Salutio. This man, it is difficult to say whether in mockery of the Scipio who led the enemy, or to bring the

omen over to his own cause, he put at the head of his troops as if he were general, in all the numerous battles which he was obliged to fight." Much discussion has been expended on the words *Salvitoni cognomen* by the commentators. Lipsius makes the name *Salacio*, Gronovius *Salaco*, Voss *Salicippius*, and others *Salvitto*, *Salpitto*, *Salutio*, or *Solutio*, desiring to connect the name itself with *salax*, or σαλάκων, or at least to give it a meaning appropriate to the passage. Pliny (H. N. 7. 12. 10), treating of resemblances, says: *Eiusdem familiae Scipioni post eum nomen Salvitto mimus dedit*, which is probably the true origin of the name given because of the facial resemblance existing between two men.

60. **destinato** : used for the much more common adverbial phrase *ex destinato*, as in Calig. § 43. Probably written here without the preposition in order not to clash with the *ex occasione* immediately following.——**sumebat.** So *bellum sumi facile* (esse), Sall. Jug. 83. 1, and Tacit. Hist. 2. 42, *proelium tamen acriter sumpsere.*——**equos dimittebat.** Cf. Caes. B. G. 1. 25. *Caesar primum suo, deinde omnium ex conspectu remotis equis, ut aequato omnium periculo spem fugae tollerent, cohortatus suos proelium commisit.*

61. **equo insigni.** Pliny (H. N. 8. 42) mentions this remarkable horse, speaking in the same passage of Bucephalus.

63. **vectoria navicula** : "a transport," which Livy (24. 40) calls *navis oneraria.* The *naves rostratae* which Suet. mentions in the next line are "men-of-war" = the *naves longae* of Caes. and Livy.——**et comminus** : the *et* here = *sed.* Cf. Aug. § 66: *amicitias neque facile admisit et constantissime retenuit*, and see Introd. 17. This Cassius was subsequently one of Caesar's murderers.

64. **Alexandriae.** "At Alexandria, at the assault on a bridge."——**mordicus.** ὀδάξ. Florus says that Caesar left his cloak floating on the water that the enemy might make it the target of their missiles.

65. **exactor disciplinae** : "a martinet."——**subtrahebat** : "stole away."

66. **terribilis** : "a source of alarm." Caesar's speech is in marked contrast to the Napoleonic harangues, in its contemptuous exaggeration of the enemy's force. Napoleon seems always to

have tried to rouse his soldiers' courage by belittling the enemy; and on some occasions he purposely deceived them. Thus at Waterloo, long after he knew the battle was lost, he gave out to his troops that the Prussian guns, which they could plainly hear thundering at Frichemont, were the cannon of Grouchy.

67. pro modo: "according to any fixed rule."——**desertorum**: *desertor* means one who simply abandons his army; *transfuga*, one who goes over to the enemy.——**conivebat**: lit. he "winked at." From the base NIC—which is found in the pft. *conixi* and in *nico* with its frequentative *nicto*, to blink. (Cf. Fick, I. 65.) The word came into English through the French *conniver*, about Shakspeare's time, and is found once in his plays—Winter's Tale, 4. 3, where Autolycus says, "Sure the gods do this year connive at us, and we may do anything." ——**commilitones**: which Augustus (Aug. § 25) considered too familiar. So Napoleon won much popularity for himself by addressing his soldiers as *camarades*, *enfants*, *vieilles moustaches*, and other equally familiar names.——**barbam capillumque summiserit.** And so Augustus after the defeat of Varus, on which see Aug. § 23.

68. e viatico suo: here in the sense of *peculio* or *stipendio*. So Horace, Epist. 2. 2. 26. *Luculli miles collecta viatica multis Aerumnis.*——**cum tenuiorum**, etc.: "while those who were better off took upon themselves the care of the poor."——**Dyrrachina munitione.** Plutarch says: "Pompey took care that neither the loaves nor the words should reach his men, who were disheartened and discouraged by reason of the terror inspired by the ferocity and hardiness of their foes, whom they regarded as a kind of savage beasts."——**panis ex herba.** See Caes. Bell. Civil. 3. 48: *Est etiam genus radicis inventum ab iis qui fuerant cum Valerio quod appellatur 'chara' quod admixtum lacte multum inopiam levabat. Id ad similitudinem panis efficiebant*, etc. So on the retreat from Russia, the soldiers of Napoleon's army made a salad of grass. Pliny (H. N. 19. 8) calls the herb *lapsana*, on which see Varro, R. R. 3. 16. 25,—the Gk. λαμψάνη (Dioscorid. 2. 142, ed. Sprengel); also *cuma silvestris*, or wild cabbage.——**consolandos eos**: so Caes. Bell. Civil. 3. 73, and Appian.——**centum ac triginta millia**: Caesar himself (Bell. Civil. 3. 53) gives the number as about 30,000.——**Cassi Scaevae.**

See Lucan, 6. 144 sq.; and for the exploit of Acilius, Valer. Max. 3. 2. 22.——**Cynaegiri exemplum**: given by Herod. 6. 114: *τοῦτο δὲ Κυναίγειρος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἐνθαῦτα, ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων νηὸς, τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεὶς πελέκεϊ πίπτει.* Cynaegirus was the brother of the dramatist Aeschylus.——**umbone** : umbo = *ἄμβων.*

69. atque etiam : "*but* even."——**apud Placentiam** : B.C. 48. ——**missam fecit** = *exauctoravit* as in Aug. § 24, where also occurs *dimisit.*

70. decimanos : "the men of the tenth legion."——**ardente . . . bello** : cf. Cic. pro Sull. 19, *cum arderet acerrime coniuratio.* ——**Quirites**, i.e., "citizens." Lampridius tells the same thing of Alexander Severus (Alex. Sev. 53): *cum nihilominus post ista fremerent, exclamavit, "Quirites, discedite atque arma deponite!" Mirando exemplo depositis armis, depositis etiam sagulis militaribus omnes non ad castra sed ad diversoria varia recesserunt.*

71. inter officia prosequentium : "among the attendants who escorted him." Equivalent to *inter eos qui officii causa prosequebantur.* For the ceremony of escorting one who went forth to assume an important command, cf. Livy, 42. 49.

72. deversoriolo. The MSS. have *et in diversorio loco quod unum erat, cesserit.* Roth, following Oudend., reads *deversoriolo eo.* Suetonius has the word *diversorium* twice elsewhere (Nero, § 38 and Vitell. § 7) in the sense of *hospitium.* Baumgarten-Crusius reads *et deversoriolo quod unum,* etc., with Casaubon.

73. Simultates contra nullos. This reading of course makes *contra* a preposition. The majority of the MSS. have it so, and there seems to be no good reason for reading with Roth and others *nullas,* making *contra* the adverb.——**Gai Memmi** : cf. § 23. ——**versiculis** : the scurrilous poem alluded to is found in Catull. 29 (Müller), and consists of twenty-four lines. Allusions to Caesar are also found id. 11. 10, *Caesaris visens monimenta magni;* 57. 2, a scandalous attack; and in 93, where he sums up his contempt for Caesar in an epigram:

> Nil nimium studeo Caesar tibi belle placere,
> Nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo.

This last effusion is also mentioned by Quintilian, 11. 1. 38: *Negat se magni facere aliquis poetarum utrum Caesar ater an albus*

homo sit, insania ; verte, ut idem Caesar de illo dixerit arrogantia est. And cf. Phaedr. Fab. 3. 15. 10.——**perpetua stigmata imposita** : sc. esse.

74. Cornelio Phagitae : cf. § 1.——**a manu servum** : "an amanuensis." Suet. appears to have coined the word *amanuensis*, which is found only in the Lives. Cf. Nero, § 44: *ne dispensatoribus quidem aut amanuensibus exceptis;* and Tit. § 3. The use of *a* in the phrase *a manu servum* is idiomatic. Cf. *Narcissum ab epistolis et Pallantem a rationibus*, i.e., Narcissus, the secretary, and Pallas, the accountant," in Claud. § 28; *servus a pedibus*, "a courier," Cic. ad Att. 8. 5. 1.; *a potione*, "a cup-bearer," Inscript. Grut. 578. 1.; *a bibliotheca*, "a librarian," Inscript. Orell. 40.——**simplici morte** : i.e., not having him first scourged under the *furca*, as was commonly the practice.——**in Publium Clodium** : cf. § 6.——**mater Aurelia** : who had been the one to discover his presence in the house in disguise.

75. Denuntiante Pompeio : cf. Caes. Bell. Civil. 1. 33, *Pompeius discedens ab urbe in Senatu dixerat eodem se habiturum loco qui Romae remansisset et qui in castris Caesaris fuissent.* So Plutarch, Pomp. 61, *προειπὼν ὅτι Καίσαρος ἡγήσεται τὸν ἀπολειφθέντα.*——**medios et neutrius partis**: So in Nero, § 2: *Cn. Pompeio de mediis ac neutram partem sequentibus*, etc. ——**ordines** : "commands."——**Afranius et Petreius** : in Spain. Cf. Caes. B. C. 1. 75, 76, 77.——**Acie Pharsalica** : Florus (4. 2. 50) gives his words as "Miles, faciem feri !" before the battle; and in the moment of victory, "Parce civibus." On his command to strike at the faces of the enemy, Plutarch says: "Caesar's cohorts . . . did not hurl their javelins at a distance, nor strike at the thighs and legs as they usually did in close combat, but aimed at the faces. For thus Caesar had instructed them, hoping that the young patricians, who had not had much experience of battles and wounds, but came wearing their hair long, in the flower of their youth and the prime of their good looks, would be more fearful of such blows and not be anxious to hazard both a present danger and a future blemish. And so it turned out, for they were so far from bearing the strokes of the javelins that they could not endure the sight of them, but turned about and covered their faces to make them safe." See also Velleius, 2. 52.——**Lucio Caesare.** The son of L. Caesar, mentioned in

Caes. B. G. 7. 65. Faustus was a son of Sulla the dictator, according to Eutropius, 6. 23.——**Aulique Caecinae . . . libro.** Probably a son of the Caecina in whose behalf Cicero pronounced an oration relating to a question of inheritance. On the book mentioned in the text see Cic. ad Fam. 6. 5–8, letters to and from this Caecina, who on account of his attack on Caesar had been forbidden to return to Italy. He then published a retraction in the form of a poem, *Querellae.* Whether or not it was successful in appeasing Caesar is not known, but Cicero gives Caecina reason for hope, speaking especially of Caesar's mild and forgiving disposition.——**civili animo** = leniter. The use of *civilis* in the sense of "courteous," "kindly," is exceedingly frequent in Suetonius. Cf. *civilis et clemens*, Vesp. § 12; *ab iuventa minime civilis animi*, Domit. § 12. So in Greek, κοινός, for which see Isocrat. 98 B., κοινὸς ἅπασι γενέσθαι.

76. Praegravant: "preponderate."——**praefecturam morum**. The power of a censor without the title. See Aug. § 27, *recepit et morum legumque regimen . . . quamquam sine censurae honore.*——**praenomen Imperatoris**. From this time an essential portion of the name, and not a temporary title, as before.——**Patris Patriae**: the title given to Cicero by Q. Catulus (Cic. pro Sest. 57), but not as Pliny (7. 30) thinks, as a new title never before conferred on any Roman. Livy ascribes the title to Romulus (1. 16): *Romulus, Quirites, parens urbis huius;* and to Camillus (5. 49): *parens patriae . . . appellabatur.* Cicero himself (pro C. Rabir. 10) ascribes it to Marius. Tiberius declined the honor (Tib. § 26): *cognomenque 'patris patriae' . . . recusavit;* as did also Nero (Nero, § 8): *'patris patriae' nomine recusato propter aetatem.* Tacitus (Annal. 1. 14) says that Livia, the wife of Augustus, received the name of 'Mater Patriae.' Some of the later empresses were called by the title 'Mater Castrorum.'——**statuam inter reges**: which need not, however, be considered an assumption of regal distinction, as Suetonius seems to imply, for the statue of the older Brutus had likewise been placed there. Cf. Plutarch, Brut. 1, Βροῦτος ὃν ἀνέστησαν ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ χαλκοῦν οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι μέσον τῶν βασιλέων.——**suggestum in orchestra**: called *cubiculum* in Nero, § 12. A raised couch.——**pulvinar**: a cushioned seat in the circus, but suggesting the idea

of divinity, as being originally a couch for the images of the gods. Cf. Aug. § 45.——**flaminem** : cf. Cic. Philipp. 2. 43: *Quem is maiorem honorem consecutus erat quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen, ut Jovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic Divo Iulio M. Antonius.*——**lupercos** : Priests of the Roman Pan, who was called Lupercus as being the destroyer of wolves, like Apollo *Λύκειος*. Originally there were two colleges of the Luperci, known respectively as the Fabiani and the Quintiliani. To these the third sodality was added in Caesar's honor, called the Juliani. On the Luperci and the Lupercalia see Aug. § 31 fin., and Ovid, Fast. 2. 267 sq.——**appellationem mensis e suo nomine** : the month of July (mensis Iulius), formerly known as mensis Quintilis from its place in the old calendar. So the mensis Sextilis was renamed after Augustus, the month September after Germanicus (Calig. § 15), and the month October after Domitian (Domit. § 13, Macrobius, 1. 12). Tiberius used his right of intercessio to prevent the renaming of September after him, and October after his mother Livia (Tib. § 26).——**titulo tenus** : "titularly."——**ad libidinem.** Cf. Livy, 25. 21: *instruitur acies ad libidinem*, and Sallust, Cat. 8: *fortuna res cunctas ex libidine magis quam ex vero celebrat.*——**in paucas horas petenti dedit** : The name of this person was C. Caninius Rebilus, as stated by Macrobius, 2. 3, *Caninius Rebilus uno tantum die consul fuit.* On this brief term of office Cicero made one of his characteristic jokes (cf. Fam. 7. 30): *Vigilantem habemus consulem Caninium qui in consulatu suo somnum non vidit.*——**decem praetoris viris** : known as the Decemviri Stlitibus Iudicandis. Cf. Aug. § 36.——**quosdam e semibarbaris Gallorum** : *semibarbaris Gallorum* is a Greek construction like the *barbara virginum* of Hor. C. 1. 29. 5 and 6. On the passage edd. quote Cic ad Fam. 9. 15: *in urbem nostram est infusa peregrinitas nunc vero etiam bracatis et transalpinis nationibus.*——**peculiares servos** : *peculiaris servus* is opposed to *servus publicus*, as being the personal slave of an individual.——**demandavit** : "entrusted." A favorite word of Suet., and found oftener in him than in any other writer. Cf. § 83; Aug. § 10; Tiber. § 51; Nero, § 35; Calig. § 9; Otho, § 3.

77. impotentiae : "arrogance," i.e., *impotentia sui*, lack of

self-restraint. Cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. 4. 15. 34; *impotentia quaedam animi a temperantia et moderatione plurimum dissidens.* Nero, § 28, *ferox atque impotens mulier;* and so Horace of Cleopatra (C. 1. 37. 10) *quidlibet impotens Sperare fortunaque dulci Ebria.* And so *ἀκρατής* in Greek as opposed to *ἐγκρατής,* for which see Aesch. Prom. 884, *πνεύματι μαργῳ, γλώσσης ἀκρατής.*——**Ampius**: Of whom Caesar speaks (Bell. Civil. 3. 105), and to whom Cicero addresses a letter (ad Fam. 6. 12).——**Sullam nescisse litteras**: i.e., had not profited by the teachings of history. Or possibly, as some edd. have suggested, *nescire litteras* is proverbial for *stultus esse.*——**si pecudi cor defuisset**: a pun, of course, as *cor* means both "heart," and "mind" = *sapientia.* For a like pun see Mart. 2. 8. 6.

78. **aede Veneris**: cf. § 61.——**Pontium Aquilam**: afterward one of Caesar's assassins. Cf. Appian, 2. 113.

79. **in sacrificio Latinarum**: the *feriae Latinae,* traditionally dating from the time of Tarquinius Superbus. After holding the *Feriae Latinae,* the consuls could enter upon the actual command of the army, at least before the time of Sulla, B.C. 82. See Dict. of Antiq. s. v. Feriae.——**capiti suo diadema reppulerit.** So Cic. in Philipp. 2. 34. 87. *At etiam adscribi iussit in fastis ad Lupercalia:* C. CAESARI, DICTATORI PERPETUO, M. ANTONIUM CONSULEM POPULI IUSSU REGNUM DETULISSE, CAESAREM UTI NOLUISSE. Cf. Shaksp. Jul. Caes. I. 2, where Casca describes the scene: "It was mere foolery. I did not mark it. I saw Mark Antony offer him a crown;—yet 'twas not a crown neither,—'twas one of these coronets; and, as I told you, he put it by at once; but, for all that, to my thinking, he was very loath to lay his fingers off it. And then he offered it the third time; he put it the third time by; and still as he refused it the rabblement hooted, and clapped their chapped hands, and threw up their sweaty night-caps, and uttered such a deal of stinking breath because Caesar refused the crown that it had almost choked Caesar, for he swooned, and fell down at it."——**libris fatalibus**: i.e., Sibyllinis. On these see Gell. 1. 19.

80. **dispersim**: "here and there."——**detrectante . . . flagitante**: Chiasmus.——**Bonum factum**: the formulaic beginning of an edict, more commonly abbreviated and expressed by the letters B. F. or Q. B. F. In Vitell. § 14 a similar effusion is given:

libellus propositus est, 'Et Chaldaeos dicere B. F. ne Vitellius Germanicus intra eundem Kalendarum diem usquam esset.'——**bracas**: the Scotch "breeks" and Eng. "breeches." This word is said by some philologists to be the only word in Latin of pure Keltic origin, the others being cognates. Cf. note on *alauda*, § 24. It is the Gaelic *breacan*, a tartan plaid, and hence was primarily named from the varied colors, *breacan* being a derivative of *breac*, "spotted." Cf. the Welsh *brech*, "brindled," and the French *braques* in colloq. language, on which Le Roux says: "Braque = culotte, caleçon on haut-de-chausses. 'Sortir d'une affaire *braques nettes*' signifie sortir d'une affaire sans en recevoir de préjudice; si c'est un combat, sans être blessé." (Dictionnaire Comique.)——The verses quoted by Suet. are trochaic tetrameters catalectic. The last word must be scanned *sumpsĕrunt.* Hark. 586. II. 4.——**trimenstrique consule**: cf. § 76.——**animadverti** sc. consulem adesse. Pliny, Panegyr. 61. speaks of *sollemnis ille lictorum et praenuntius clamor.*——**Luci Bruti**: L. Junius Brutus, who drove out the Tarquins. Plutarch adds that Brutus's own tribunal, on which as praetor he sat, was filled every morning with slips inscribed, "You sleep, Brutus," or "You are no true Brutus." Plutarch, Brut. 9.——**e ponte**: a gangway at the Comitia over which the voters passed to be polled.

81. evidentibus prodigiis. Cf. Shaksp. Jul. Caes. II. 2.

Calphurnia. There is one within
Recounts most horrid things seen by the watch.
A lioness hath whelpèd in the streets,
And graves have yawned and yielded up their dead:
Fierce, fiery warriors fight upon the clouds,
In ranks and squadrons and right forms of war,
Which drizzled blood upon the Capitol:
The noise of battle hurtled in the air,
Horses did neigh and dying men did groan,
And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets.

——**Capys**. See Verg. Aen. 10. 145. *Et Capys, hinc nomen Campanae ducitur urbi.* And cf. Livy, 4. 37.——**ubertimque flere**. Pliny, H. N. 8. 42, says that horses have a presentiment of battles, and lament their lost masters with tears. *Praesagiunt pugnam et amissos lugent dominos lacrimasque interdum desiderio fundunt.*——**regaliolum**. *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. regaliolus* rep-

resents the Gk. *βασιλίσκος*, with which cf. the French *roitelet* (petit roi) as a name for the wren. Aristotle, H. A. 9. 1. 15, probably refers to the same bird, calling it *πρέσβυς* and *βασιλεύς*, as in the same work, 8. 3. 5, he uses the word *τύραννος* in speaking of the crested wren. Cf. also Pliny, H. N. 10. 74.——**cum litare non posset.** Shaksp. blends this statement with the one in § 77.

> *Caes.* What say the augurers?
> *Serv.* They would not have you stir forth to-day.
> They could not find a heart within the beast.
> *Caes.* The gods do this in shame of cowardice!
> Caesar should be a beast without a heart
> If he should stay at home to-day for fear!
> (Jul. Caes. II. 2.)

82. Cimber Tillius : cf. Cic. Philipp. 2. 11. 27. *An L. Tillius Cimber me est auctorem secutus?* Also Seneca de Ira, 3. 30: *Divum Iulium plures amici confecerunt quam inimici. . . . Vidit itaque strictis circa sellam suam gladiis commilitones suos, Cimbrum Tillium acerrimum paullo ante partium defensorem, aliosque post Pompeium demum Pompeianos.*——**Ista quidem vis est!** An almost formulaic cry of the Romans when suddenly attacked or taken by surprise. Cf. *vis haec quidem herclest*, said by Tyndarus in Plaut. Capt. 3. 5. 92.——**graphio**: Suet. uses the Latin word *stilus* at times, e.g. Aug. § 85, Tib. § 70; but oftener *graphium*, of which the pure Latin representative would be *scriptorium*. For the stile as a weapon see Calig. § 28: *Cum discerpi senatorem concupisset, subornavit qui ingredientem curiam repente hostem publicum appellantes invaderent, graphisque confossum lacerandum ceteris traderent.*——**καὶ σὺ τέκνον;** Some prefix to this *καὶ σὺ εἶ ἐκείνων*. Plutarch (Caes. 66) says that Casca gave the first blow, that Caesar cried out in Latin, "Base Casca, what dost thou?" while Casca cried to his brother in Greek, *ἀδελφέ, βοήθει*. He gives no other words as said by Caesar. There is absolutely no authority for attributing the words "Et tu, Brute?" to Caesar. The strong popular belief in their authenticity is a remarkable tribute to the genius of Shakspeare, who puts them into Caesar's mouth at the moment of his fall. But Shakspeare did not originate them. They seem first to have occurred in an old Latin play on the subject of

Julius Caesar, written by Dr. Eades, the master of Christ Church College, Oxford, in 1582, and acted in that year by the undergraduates. They next appear in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, in the narrative called "Caesar's Legend," and published five years later, in 1587. Again they are found in a poem by one S. Nicholson, called *Acolastus his Afterwit*, which appeared in 1600. In this poem the lines run:

> "Et tu Brute? Wilt thou stab Caesar, too?
> Thou art my friend and will not see me wronged."

Shakspeare probably found them in *The True Tragedie of Richard, Duke of Yorke*, which appeared in 1600 (Malone), and from which he drew the "Third Part of King Henry VI." In it is the line:

> "Et tu, Brute? Wilt thou stab Caesar, too?"

As Malone says, Shakspeare rejected the line in writing the play just mentioned, but it seems to have lingered in his memory and to have reappeared in the *Julius Caesar*, whence it passed into the stock of quotations that are the property of all mankind. The exclamation given in the text is believed by many to have been an acknowledgment of the relationship existing between Brutus and Caesar, by reason of the intrigue of Caesar with Servilia, the mother of Brutus, mentioned in § 50. See also note on § 14. Plutarch (Brut. 5) says that Caesar himself believed Brutus to be his son: *ἐγνώκει γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, νεανίας ὢν ἔτι τὴν Σερβιλίαν ἐπιμανεῖσαν αὐτῷ καὶ καθ' οὓς μάλιστα χρόνους ὁ ἔρως ἐπέφλεγε γενόμενον τὸν Βροῦτον ἐπέπειστό πως ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονέναι.* But as Caesar was barely fifteen years of age when Brutus was born, it seems scarcely probable that any relationship existed between them.——**secundo loco.** Cf. *primo loco*, Juv. 5. 12.——**metu M. Antoni**: whom they had intended to kill as well as Caesar, as Plutarch tells us (Brut. 18), but were deterred by Brutus, *καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ὁπηνίκα διεσκοποῦντο τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἤρεσκεν Ἀντώνιον ἐπισφάττειν Καίσαρι . . . Ἀλλὰ Βροῦτος ἐνέστη πρὸς τὸ βούλευμα, πρῶτον μὲν ἰσχυριζόμενος τῷ δικαίῳ δεύτερον δ' ὑποθεὶς ἐλπίδα τῆς μεταβολῆς.*

83. Labicano: sc. agro. Between Tusculum and Praeneste.——**Q. Tubero**: the author of a historical work from the earliest

time extending to his own age, and also known as an orator, and a writer on jurisprudence. Cf. Quintil. 10. 1. 23; 11. 1. 80, and Gell. 14. 2. 20 ——**ex dodrante** : i.e., ex tribus quadrantibus totius rei; terni quadrantes.——**in ima cera**: cf. *primae duae cerae*, Nero, § 17. On the first page, the testator usually wrote his name, while the name of the principal heir appeared on the second. Martial, 4. 70 has *nihil . . . moriens reliquit ultimis pater ceris.*——**plerosque** = *multos.*——**hortos circa Tiberim**. mentioned by Horace, Sat. 1. 9. 18. On the Janiculum.

84. **tropaeum** : here evidently a post or pillar.——**Armorum Iudicio** : a play on the subject of the contest between Ulysses and Ajax for the arms of Achilles. Sixteen fragments of the play are extant. Appian (Bell. Civ. 2. 146) turns the line into Greek: *καὶ περὶ τῶν σφαγέων αὐτῶν ἐπέλεγεν ὥσπερ ἐν θαύματι· ‘ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ τούσδε περισῶσαι τοὺς κτενοῦντάς με;’* Cf. also Cic. Philipp. 2. 3. 5: *Quod si esset beneficium, numquam qui illum interfecerunt a quo erant conservati . . . tantam essent gloriam consecuti.*——**pro salute unius** : sc. Caesaris.——**repente duo quidam** : the absence of any noun heightens the effect, and also preserves the author from committing himself as to whether or not the "duo" were supernatural beings or men in disguise. The purpose of this performance was, of course, to create a belief that Castor and Pollux had appeared. For a similar indefinite use of the numeral, very cleverly employed, see Pliny's celebrated ghost story (Epist. 7. 27) where *venerunt per fenestras in tunicis albis duo.*——**cereis** : sc. funibus.——**circulatim** : "going round and round." Hase aptly cites Caes. Bell. Civil. 1. 64, *totis vero castris milites circulari et dolere.*——**praecipueque Iudaei.** Caesar was much esteemed by the Jews because he had exhibited great tolerance and even esteem in his treatment of them. To the Jews in Alexandria he had granted citizenship in that city; he had also removed the restrictions placed upon the free exercise of their worship at Paros and Delos. His popularity was naturally not diminished by the fact that he had overthrown Pompey, who had greatly offended the prejudices of the Jews by his conduct when commanding in the East; for as Josephus tells us, he had attacked the Temple, carrying it by assault, cutting the throats of many persons in it, and "committing no small enormities

in the places about it." Pompey even insisted on passing into the Holy of Holies, where it was unlawful for any but the high-priests to enter; yet he did not touch any of the sacred vessels, nor even carry away the 2000 talents of gold deposited there—a fact stated also by Cicero. See Josephus, Antiq. 14. 4, and id. ib. 10. Also Fr. C. Meyer, Judaica, Jena, 1832.

85. Helvium Cinnam: see § 52.——**lapidis Numidici**: marble.

86. sua quam rei publicae interesse : cf. Cic. ad Fam. 2. 19, *quod ego et mea et rei publicae interesse arbitror.*

87. apud Xenophontem : i.e., Cyrop. 8. 7.

88. stella crinita : So Pliny, H. N. 2. 25, *sidus crinitum per septem dies in regione caeli quae sub septentrionibus est conspectum . . . Eo sidere significare vulgus credidit Caesaris animam inter deorum immortalium memina receptam.* Cf. Plut. Caes. 69, and Verg. Geor. 1. 466:

> Ille etiam exstincto miseratus Caesare Romam
> Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit,
> Impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.

89. obstrui placuit. Appian on the contrary says that it was burnt by the populace. *obstrui* = *obsaepi.*——**sua morte** : "by a natural death." So Seneca, Epist. 69. 6, *bella res est mori sua morte.*——**Damnati omnes** : by the Lex Pedia as stated by Vell. 2. 69. Cf. Nero, § 3 : *Is inter conscios Caesarianae necis quamquam insons damnatus lege Pedia*, etc.——**periit** : attracted into the singular by the proximity of *alius*, though it should be *perierunt*, otherwise *omnes* is a *nominativus pendens.* Cf. with some edd. Cic. de Offic. 1. 41. *Ut enim pictores et ii qui signa fabricantur et vero etiam poetae suum quisque opus a vulgo considerari vult.* Madvig Gr. 217 obs. 1. Cf. also Cic. de Fin. 5. 24; Livy, 7. 33. 12.——**eodem illo pugione** : Plutarch, Caes. 69, tells this of Cassius : *Θαυμασιώτατον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνων τὸ περὶ Κάσσιον· ἡττηθεὶς γὰρ ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐκείνῳ τῷ ξιφιδίῳ διέφθειρεν ἑαυτὸν ᾧ κατὰ Καίσαρος ἐχρήσατο.*

BOOK II.

1. Velitris. In Latium.——**rem divinam.** So in Plaut. Capt. 4. 2. 80 and 81, *iube Vasa tibi pura adparari ad rem divinam.* ——**prosecuit.** A tech. term of the sacrifice. The flesh cut off for sacrifice was known as prosicies and prosectum.

2. inter minores gentes. The *minores gentes* were the gentes belonging to the third of the three early tribes. This third tribe (Luceres) being regarded as inferior to the other two (the Ramnes or Opician Latins, and the Titienses or Sabines), its gentes were styled *minores*, as those of the other two were known as *maiores*. Hence the phrase *patres minorum gentium* applied to the hundred senators added by Tarquinius Priscus according to Livy (1. 35) Cic. de Rep. 2. 20 (Mos.) says: *L. Tarquinius duplicavit illum pristinum patrum numerum et antiquos patres maiorum gentium appellavit quos priores sententiam rogavit: a se ascitos minorum.* See also Cic. ad Fam. 9. 21. to Paetus.——Roth's text has *adlecta in senatum*, but the words *in senatum* are inconsistent with the following *in patricias traducta*, which would be tautologous because the senate at that time was open only to patricians. I have therefore omitted them.——**ad plebem se contulit.** A plebeian born could be made a patrician only by a lex curiata, until the time when Caesar assumed the right of making the transfer in his own name (Iul. § 41). A patrician became a plebeian by *adrogatio* with his own consent, as in the case of P. Clodius already mentioned in Iul. § 20. Possibly here the transfer was made because of the loss of the senatorial census. So Tac. Annal. 2. 38, speaking of the Hortensian house, uses the expression *pud. ndam ad inopiam delaberetur.* And so instances are not wanting of heirs to English peerages who refuse to ssume the title through lack of means to support their rank. —**condicione diversa.** It was not unusual to find in the same ns both patrician and plebeian families. So the famous gens Cornelia contained not only the patrician Scipios and the Sullae, but also the plebeian Balbi and Merulae. In Nero, § 1, Suet. tells the same thing of the two branches of the gens Domitia, the

Calvini (plebeian) and the Aenobarbi (patrician).——**stipendia fecit.** Cf. note, Iul. § 2.——**Aemilio Papo imperatore.** Livy, 28. 38.——**Sed haec alii** : sc. tradiderunt.——**ipse Augustus** : in his Memoirs called in § 85 a treatise *De Vita Sua* in 13 books.——**M. Antonius . . . exprobrat** : i.e., in his edicts and letters. Cf. §§ 7, 10, 16, 28, 69. Cicero in his third Philippic (6) reproaches Antony for his disgraceful language toward Octavius. *At quam contumeliosus in edictis! quam barbarus! quam rudis! Primum in Caesarem maledicta congessit deprompta ex recordatione impudicitiae et stuprorum suorum! Quis etiam hoc adolescente castior? quis modestior? . . . Ignobilitatem obicit C. Caesaris filio cuius etiam natura pater, si vita suppeditasset, consul factus esset. Aricina mater—Trallianam aut Ephesiam putes dicere.* Cremutius Cordus, cited by Tac. Annal. 4. 34, says, *Antonii epistulae, Bruti contiones falsa quidem in Augustum probra set multa cum acerbitate habent.*——**avum argentarium** : See the end of § 4 and the scurrilous line in § 70.

3. divisores operasque campestris : "bribe-givers and political workers." In order to make the detection of bribery (*ambitus*) more difficult, the "practical politicians" at Rome employed three sets of agents,—the "interpretes," who made the bargain with the voter; the "sequestres," who held the cash until the bargain had been consummated; and the "divisores," who paid it over (Cic. pro Cluent. 26; ad Att. 1. 16). Observe the euphemism in the terms employed to denote the several classes of bribe-givers. "Opera campestris" was the generic term for a political "heeler."——**innutritus.** The participle means "reared in," while in the adjective *in* is negative. Both are post-Aug.——**adeptus est facile,** etc. Chiasmus.——**epistulae M. Ciceronis** : ad Q. Fr. 1. 1. 7.——**proconsulatum** : more accurately *propraeturam.*

4. consulatus. A. and G. 217.——**liberis.** In partitive apposition with *liberis* are the names *Octavia maiore . . . Octavia minore, . . . Augusto.* Roman women had, as a rule, only one name—the feminine form of the father's gentile name. Hence if there were several girls in the family they were distinguished by an adjective or numeral as Maior, Minor, Prima, Secunda, Tertia, Postrema, etc. After marriage they sometimes took a praenomen formed from the husband's, e.g., Gaia, Publia; or a

cognomen formed from the husband's, e.g., Caecilia Metella; or from the gentile name of the husband, e.g. Livia Ocellina, Julia Claudilla; or (rarely) from some personal peculiarity of their own, e.g., Rufa, Pusilla. Pliny (H. N. 34. 11) says that one of the privileges of the vestal virgins was the assumption of a praenomen upon their *captio*, as in the case of a bride at her marriage.——**M. Atio Balbo.** So Vergil (Aen. 5. 568) delicately flatters Augustus by connecting the name Atius with that of Atys, the friend of Iulus: *Alter Atys genus unde Atii duxere Latini, Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iulo.*——**Aricinus.** A town of Latium which had received the full Roman franchise in 340 B.C. Cf. Cic. Philipp. 3. 6, cited above.——**inter viginti viros agrum Campanum . . . divisit.** See note on Iul. § 20. ——**unguentariam tabernam.** Cicero (de Offic. 1. 42) classes perfumers among the *artes minime probandae quae ministrae sunt voluptatum.* He enumerates (quoting Terence) the *cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores*, and then says, *adde huc, si placet, unguentarios, saltatores totumque ludum talarium.* Many passages in Latin literature attest the extraordinary fondness of the Romans for perfumes and unguents of all kinds. Nero in his dining-hall had a contrivance by which perfumes were shed down upon the guests; and even in the theatres concealed pipes sprayed the spectators with saffron water.——**nummulari.** As a noun, the word is post-Aug., and in the present passage means a money-changer; but often in Latin of a coiner. So Mart. 12. 57. 7, where the noise made by the nummularius is said to prevent sleep; and so Suet. Galb. § 9 tells how Galba *nummulario non ex fide versanti pecunias manus amputavit mensaeque eius adfixit.*——**taxat**: "twits."——**collybo.** A word borrowed from the Greeks, who probably received it, as they did many other words relating to trade and finance, from the Phoenicians, as it is undoubtedly Semitic. κόλλυβος is small change, and in Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 78, the rate of exchange, cognate with the Hebrew *chalaf*, to change. Another frequently used commercial term, evidently Phoenician, is *arrhabo* (*arrha*), ἀρραβών, cognate with the Semitic *ʿerabôn*, and meaning forfeit-money,—the Scotch *arles*, on which see Ramsay's note on Plaut. Most. 3. 1. 111.——**mensarius.** A pure Latin term formed from *mensa*, as is the Greek τραπεζίτης from τράπεζα, and

the English "banker" from *banque*, originally the money-changer's table or bench. See Fick, III. 201.

5. Natus est Augustus. Sept. 23, 62 B.C.——**ad Capita Bubula** : one of the fourteen *regiones* of the city.——**natales** : "his family," as in Tac. Hist. 2. 86, *aderat Corn. Fuscus vigens aetate, claris natalibus.* In this sense a post-Aug. word.——**soli quod primum D. A. attigisset.** Probably to be taken literally with reference, as Baum.-Crus. shows, to the practice of placing the newly born child upon the ground and invoking the favor of the goddess Ops, who was identical with Terra, as appears from Macrob. I. 10. 19, 20 : *Saturnus eiusque uxor tam frugum quam fructuum repertores esse credantur. Quos etiam non nullis caelum ac terram esse persuasum esse Saturnum a satu dictum cuius causa de caelo est, et terram Opem cuius ope humanae vitae alimenta quaeruntur.* In praying to her on any occasion it was the custom to touch the earth. St. Augustine (de Civ. Dei, 4. 11) gives her the name Levana, as the one who raised the infants from the ground. She was also styled Consiva (*consero*) or Consivia, as appears from Varro, L. L. 6. § 21 (Müll.).

6. cubitum. A. and G. 302.——**cum strato simul** : "bed and all."

7. imaguncula. *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* like *statunculum* in Petron. Sat. 50. p. 34 (Bücheler).——**principi.** Hadrian.——**Augusti cognomen.** Dio Cass. 53. 16, says that Augustus greatly desired to be styled Romulus as being the second founder of the State, but fearing that this would savor too much of kingly pretension, contented himself with the name Augustus, *ὡς καὶ πλεῖόν τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὢν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμοτατα καὶ τὰ ἱερώτατα αὔγουστα προσαγορεύεται.* Ovid, Fast. I. 587 sqq., speaking of Roman agnomina, says of the Emperor's name:

Sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus omnes;
  Hic socium summo cum Iove nomen habet.
Sancta vocant AUGUSTA patres: AUGUSTA vocantur
  Templa, sacerdotum rite dicata manu.
Huius et 'augurium' dependet origine verbi
  Et quodcumque sua Iuppiter 'auget' ope.
'Augeat' imperium nostri ducis, 'augeat' annos
  Protegat et vestras querna corona fores.

testamenta maioris avunculi. Cf. Iul. § 83.——**augurato** : adverbial like *auspicato*, Livy, 6. 41. 5.——**Ennius docet.** Annales, v. 494 (Vahlen).

8. aviam Iuliam. Cf. § 4. Quint. Inst. 12. 6, says, *Caesar Augustus duodecim natus annos aviam pro rostris laudavit.*——**militaribus donis.** In § 25 these are defined as *phalerae*, *torques*, *coronae*, etc. See also Tib. § 32.——**Apolloniam** : in Illyricum.——**diu cunctatus** : So Vell. 2. 59; Appian, 3. 10.——**vitrico.** Perhaps *vitricus* is corrupted from *patricus*, with which cf. the Greek *πατρωός* = *πατρυιός* in Plut. Cleom. 11.——**cum M. Antonio M. que Lepido.** The famous Second Triumvirate, B.C. 43.

9. neque : "and not," by resolution.——**per species** : "in groups." These groups are as follows : Military exploits, §§ 9–25; General administration, §§ 26–60; Private life, §§ 61–78; Personal appearance, §§ 79–83; Education and writings, §§ 84–89; Personal peculiarities, §§ 90–93; Portents regarding his career, §§ 94–96; Last days, §§ 97–99; Funeral and will, §§ 100, 101.

10. reosque caedis. For the genitive *caedis* cf. A. and G. 217.——**deferre.** A technical term used in classical Latin with *nomen*, as in Cic. in Pis. 33. 82. Without *nomen* the use is post-Aug.——**ludos.** Cf. Iul. § 88.——**in locum Tr. Pl. demortui.** Helvius Cinna, who was torn to pieces by the people, as related in Iul. § 85.——**translaticium ius** : "and granting him not even a share of common every-day justice." So in Nero, § 33, *raptim inter maximos imbres translaticio extulit funere*, i.e., by an ordinary funeral. Roth reads translativum ius, "the right of transfer," with no sufficient reason.——**D. Brutum.** Cf. Dio Cass. 44. 14.

12. ceterosque duces : i.e., Plancus and Asinius Pollio, as seen in Appian, Bell. Civ. 3. 97.——**quasi alii se puerum . . . tollendum.** So Vell. 2. 62, quoted by Baum-Crus. and others : *Hoc est illud tempus quo Cicero insito amore Pompeianarum partium Caesarem laudandum et tollendum censebat cum aliud diceret aliud intellegi vellet.* The point, of course, lies in the ambiguity of *tollere*, which is either "to rear," "to recognize" = *suscipere* (said of a father recognizing the new-born child), "to exalt;" or "to destroy," "do away with" = *auferre*.

13. .nita . . . societate. Cf. § 8 *fin.*——**successum moderatus est.** In Augustan Latin, *moderor* in this sense takes the dative, but in Tac. and Suet., the accusative. So in Claud. § 14: *duritiam lenitatemve multarum moderatus est*, a passage incorrectly quoted by L. and S.; and in Domit. § 7: *pretia moderatus est.* Cf. also Tac. Annal. 2. 75: *gaudium moderans*, and Livy, 42. 62. ——**fore potestatem.** The Cod. Memm. thus gives the passage. Oudend., with other MSS., reads *in potestatem*, a Greek construction modelled after *γενέσθαι εἰς*, and found also in Sallust, Jug. 112. Other edd., while retaining the *in*, change *potestatem* to the abl.——**micare.** Dio Cass. 51. 2, relates this of Augustus and the two Flori: *οἱ δὲ δὴ Φλῶροι ὅτι τὸν ἕτερον τὸν λαχόντα κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ σφαγῆναι, ἀμφότεροι διεφθάρησαν. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ πατήρ τε καὶ παῖς· ὡς δ' οὗτος πρὶν λαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τῷ σφαγεῖ ἑκὼν παρέδωκε, περιήλγησέ τε ἐκεῖνος, καὶ αὐτοχειρίᾳ αὐτῷ ἐπεπέθανεν.* A few MSS. read *dimicare*, as also in Cic. de Offic. 3. 23: *sed quasi sorte aut micando victus*, where *dimicando* is clearly wrong. *Micare* is to play the game still so popular among the lower classes in Italy, and known as *la morra*, in which the players simultaneously raise several fingers, and at the same time call out a number. The player whose number comes the nearest to the sum of all the fingers held up is the winner. The game seems to have been the same as that called "par impar," or "odd or even," except that in "par impar" other things than the fingers (e.g., astragali) were held up by a single person, the other player doing the guessing. So Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 248, says *Ludere par impar, equitare in harundine longa, Siquem delectet barbatum, amentia verset.* Augustus in a letter given in § 71 *fin.*, alludes to the game. See also Nux Eleg. 79: *Est etiam par sit numerus qui dicat an impar, Ut divinatas auferat augur opes.* Cf. the proverbial expression *micare in tenebris*, used by Cic. de Offic. 3. 19: *cum enim fidem alicuius bonitatemque laudant, 'dignum esse' dicunt 'quicum in tenebris mices.'* Fronto, in a letter to M. Caesar (p. 24, ed. Niebuhr), calls this a *proverbium scurrarum.* The Greek term for the game is *ἀρτιασμός*, or *ἄρτια ἢ περιττὰ παίζειν*, for which see Arist. Rhet. 3. 5. 4; Plat. Lys. 206 E; and Aristoph. Plut. 816. In holding up the astragali, the player

said ποσίνδα; "how many times?" hence ποσίνδα παίζειν, Xen. Eq. Mag. 5. 10 (Dind.). Another similar game of chance was that corresponding with the modern "heads or tails," in which the players tossed up a coin and called either *capita* or *navia* (phps. *navim*), one side of the coin having originally borne the head of Janus, and the other the figure of a ship. See Ovid, Fast. 1. 239, and Macrob. Sat. 1. 7. 22. The Greeks used instead of a coin an oyster-shell black on one side and white on the other, whence the terms ὀστρακίνδα παιδιά, and ὀστράκου περιστροφή, for which see Plat. Rep. 521 C. The Italian *morra* is the French *la mourre; jouer à la mourre* (E. Legros).——**ille Catonis aemulus.** Hence known as Cato's Ape—*simius Catonis.* Cf. Cic. ad Att. 1. 14., 2. 1., 2. 4, 4. 1.; ad Q. Fr. 2. 3. Favonius made himself a great nuisance to Pompey at the time of the civil war by his impatience, unreasonableness, and sarcastic speeches. Mommsen styles him "Cato's Sancho."——**prosciderunt.** A poetical expression for *exprobraverunt.* See Calig. § 30, and Vit. Lucani, p. 299, l. 32 (Roth).

14. fame compulit. So that the expression "Perusina fames" became proverbial. See the line of Lucan (1. 41): *Hic, Caesar, Perusina fames Mutinaeque labores.* So Florus (who mistakes the date of the siege) says (4. 5): *intra Perusiae muros redegit compulitque ad extrema deditionis turpi et nihil non experta fames.*——**discruciatum necasset.** Cf. *discruciatos necaret,* Cic. Philipp. 13. 18.

15. una voce occurrens : occurrens = respondens as in Quint. Inst. 1. 5. 36: *ut si dicente, 'Quem video?' ita occurras.* Reitz compares Verg. Aen. 12. 625, *talibus occurrit dictis.*——**utriusque ordinis** : i.e., of the senatorial and equestrian orders.——**conpecto.** A great variety of lections is to be observed here, the MSS. giving *conspecto, e conspectu, conspicato, ex consulto, ex proposito.* The reading adopted in the text is the emendation of Lipsius, in which he is followed by J. Gronovius, Oudendorp, Wolf, and Roth.——**confiscatis.** The verb *confisco* may almost be styled a vox Suetoniana, as it is almost entirely confined to the Lives. Cf. § 101; Tib. § 49; Calig. §§ 16 and 41; Domit. § 12.——**persolverentur** : = *solverentur.*

16. Siculum bellum : with Sex. Pompey. Florus, 4. 8; Dio Cass. 48. 15 sqq.——**Naulochum** : the name is found only here

in the singular, the usual form being the neut. plur. Naulocha. ——**pompae simulacrum dei detraxerit.** So when Germanicus died, the people stoned the temples, destroyed the altars, and threw many of the images of the household gods into the street (Calig. § 5). Mr. Lecky, in his History of European Morals (vol. i. pp. 167–171), has some interesting remarks on these and similar occurrences.——**superbientem.** Poetical.——**relegavit**: "Banished." A technical term. *Relegatio* differed from *deportatio* in that the former did not involve loss of citizenship.

17. Bononiensibus gratiam fecit: "he even pardoned the people of Bologna." *gratiam facere* with the genitive of the offence and the dative of the person is here used as in Sallust, Jug. 104 (Dietsch): *Boccho quoniam paenitet, delicti gratiam facit.* Hase quotes Ovid, Trist. 1. 5. 39:

> Saepe fidem adversis etiam laudavit in armis,
> Inque suis amat hanc Caesar, in hoste probet.

——**missionem poscentium**: missio is the t. t. for a discharge from military service, and is of three kinds, as stated in the Digest, 49. 16—*honesta* or *justa*, when the regular term of service has been completed; *causaria* or *gratiosa*, a discharge obtained by favor before the due time; and *ignominiosa*, a dishonorable discharge, for which in the later writers the usual term is *exauctoritas* and the verb *exauctoro*, as in § 24, Vitell. § 10, Vesp. § 8.——**armamentis**: "the tackle."——**Et Antonium quidem . . . Cleopatra.** The *quidem* implies a corresponding *autem* with *Cleopatra*, answering to the Gk. μέν . . . δέ. So *quidem . . . sed* = μέν . . . ἀλλά. ——**Psyllos.** The Gk. Ψύλλοι. Pliny (H. N. 7. 2. 13) speaks of a people known as Ophiogenes as being able *serpentium ictus contactu levare et manu imposita venena extrahere corpore.* He adds: *Similis et in Africa Psyllorum gens fuit ut Agatharcides scribit, a Psyllo rege dicta. Horum corpori ingenitum fuit virus exitiale serpentibus et cuius odore sopirent eas. . . . Et tamen omnibus hominibus contra serpentes inest venenum feruntque ictus salivae ut ferventis aquae contactum fugere. Quod si in fauces penetraverit etiam mori idque maxime humani ieiuni oris.* A line of Cinna is quoted by Gellius (9. 12. 12) as follows:

> Somniculosam ut Poenus aspidem Psyllus.

Cf. also Lucan, 9. 925.——**perisse morsu aspidis putabatur.** There is no good authority for attributing the death of Cleopatra to the famous asp, but the story seems to have been universally accepted. Cf. Vell. 2. 87; Hor. Carm. 1. 37. 27; Plut. Ant. 86.——**Caesarionem.** Cf. Iul. § 52. Dio Cass. 49. 32, states that Cleopatra had three children by Antony, a daughter, Cleopatra, and two sons, the names of the latter being given also in the Epitome of Livy, 132, as Philadelphus and Alexander. (Baum-Crus.)——**Aegyptum in provinciae formam.** See note on Iul. § 11.

19. alias alio tempore. On Lepidus, see Vell. 2. 88; on Varro Murena, infra, § 56, § 66; Tib. § 8; Vell. 2. 91; on Fannius Caepio, Tib. § 8; on M. Egnatius, Vell. 2. 92; on Plautius Rufus, Dio Cass. 55. 27, where the name is given as Publius Rufus; on Lucius Paulus, his granddaughter Julia's husband, infra, § 64. Asinius Epicadus was the son of a freedman of Asinius Pollio.——**servi nomenculatoris.** A *nomenclator* was usually the name given to the slave attending the candidate for office so amusingly described in Hor. Epist. 1. 6. 50–55, with which passage one may compare Cic. pro Mur. 36. 77, and Plut. Cat. Min. 8. In the present passage it is rather, as Casaubon suggests, the attendant who acts as major domo, announces the guests, and looks after the details of the morning *salutatio*. The form *nomenculator* for *nomenclator* is again used in Calig. § 41 and Claud. § 34, and may be illustrated by *nuculeus* for *nucleus* as in the Plautine proverb *e nuce nuculeum qui esse vult, frangit nucem*, Curcul. 1. 1. 55.——**ex insulis.** Cf. § 65 note.——**lixa**: "a sutler." The name is probably from *lixo*, to boil. Cf. Just. 38. 10. 2, who states that the majority of *lixae* are cooks; and see Val. Max. 2. 7. 2: *lixas e castris submovit cibumque coctum venalem proponi vetuit.*

20. per se = ipse. Introd. 16.——**dextrum genu.** A. and G. 240, *c*.——**et crus . . . consauciatus.** See § 80. *consaucio* is a rare word. It occurs again in Nero, § 26.

21. partim ductu partim auspiciis suis. The actual leader in the field is Dux, but the auspices were taken only in the name of the Imperator. Under the Republic the Imperator always led in person, and hence the campaign was under both his *ductus* and *auspicia*. Under the empire, the leaders in the field were

only Duces acting for the perpetual Imperator, in whose names the auspices were always taken.——**Albim.** The modern Elbe. ——**male quietas** = inquietas.——**tantum afuit . . . ut.** A. and G. 332, *d.*——**marum.** Appositive genitive. A. and G. 214, *f.* ——**sub lege** = hac conditione.——**Indos etiam et Scythas.** So Horace, Carm. Sec. 55: *Iam Scythae responsa petunt superbi · Nuper et Indi;* and cf. C. 4. 15. 23.——**signa militaria.** Vell. 2. 91: *Dum pacatur Occidens ab Oriente ac rege Parthorum signa Romana quae Crasso oppresso Orodes quae Antonio pulso filius eius Phraates ceperant, Augusto remissa sunt.* Also Flor. 4. 12. 63.——**de regno concertantibus.** "Phraates IV., to whom Orodes I. had resigned his throne in B.C. 38 after some years of tyranny, provoked his subjects to the point of rebellion. He was expelled, and Tiridates, another member of the Arsacid house, was put on the throne in his place. After a short time Phraates was restored (Justinus adds by the intervention of the Scythians) and Tiridates fled to seek the protection of Augustus." (Wickham.)

22. semel atque iterum = bis, and so infra, § 27 *fin.* The two occasions mentioned were in the reign of Numa, and again at the close of the first Punic War. Livy (1. 19), after mentioning these two occasions, adds: *iterum quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus post bellum Actiacum ab Imperatore Caesare Augusto, pace terra marique parta.* See also Vell. 2. 38; Dio Cass. 51. 20.——**Bis ovans.** The derivation of *ovo*, and *ovatio* from *ovis*, a sheep, because at an ovation the sacrifice offered consisted of sheep, while oxen and bulls were offered at a triumph, is no longer generally held; but modern scholars accept the explanation of Festus that the name is formed from the same base as the verb *ovare*, to shout (the Greek αὔειν), being onomatopoetic in its origin, denoting the sound made by the violent expulsion of breath, the Aryan √AW, √WA, to blow, found in ἄημι, the Teutonic type WENDA (Fick, 3. 279; Curt. 1. 484), and the Eng. 'wind.' The Greek writers use the word εὐαστής for *ovatio*, and compare the cry of the Bacchanals εὐοῖ. With the derivation of *ovatio* from *ovis* we may, however, note a corresponding formation in *vitulatio*, *vitulor*, possibly from *vitulus*, a calf (Fest. and Varro), for which see Ennius, Trag. Frag. 339 (Ribbeck): *Is habet coronam vitulans victoria;*

and Macrob. S. 3. 2. 14: *certis sacrificiis fiat vitulatio* (quoted from Piso).——**continuo triduo omnes**: i.e., each on one of three consecutive days. On the occasion of this triumph he presented each soldier with 1000 sesterces and each citizen with 800 sesterces He likewise settled 120,000 of his soldiers upon land, for which the sum of 860,000,000 of sesterces ($34,400,000) was paid as compensation to its former owners.

23. Lollianam. Vell. 2. 97, and Dio Cass. 54. 20. Vell. styles Lollius a man *pecuniae quam recte faciendi cupidior.* He was routed by the Germans, and the eagle of the fifth legion was lost.——**Varianam.** The famous defeat of the Romans under Quintilius Varus in 9 A.D. in the Teutoburg wood by the German chief Arminius (Hermann). The Roman army was destroyed almost to a man, and Varus being severely wounded, fell upon his own sword. His defeat was partially avenged by Germanicus, the adopted son of Tiberius, in 16 A.D., when he defeated the Germans at Minden. See Tac. Annal. 1. 55, and id. Germ. 37, where the Roman loss is given as three legions.——**Cimbrico Marsicoque bello.** And in the Second Punic War, as appears from Livy, 22. 9: *Qui* (decemviri) *inspectis fatalibus libris rettulerunt . . . Iovi ludos magnos . . . vovendos esse.*

24. gravate: "grudgingly."——**subiecit hastae**: "sold at auction," the spear being the sign of an auction, as is the red flag with us. Cf. Juv. 3. 33: *Et praebere caput domina venale sub hasta.*——**contumacius parentem**: "obeying with too great reluctance."——**dimisit** = exauctoravit as below.——**citra commoda**: "without reference to what was due them."——**decimatas.** One man in every ten was selected by lot for punishment. See Galba, § 12; Livy, 2. 59. 11: *cetera multitudo sorte decumus quisque ad supplicium lecti*; and Veget. de Re Militari, 1. 13. *Ita severe apud maiores disciplina servata est ut et doctores armorum duplicibus remunerarentur annonis et qui parum in illa praelusione profecerant pro frumento hordeum cogerentur accipere.*——**discinctosque**: i.e., with the military garb (the sagum, etc.) stripped off. So to denote grief at the burial of Augustus: *primores equestris ordinis tunicati et discincti pedibusque nudis*, infra § 100. As a punishment it corresponds to our practice of cutting out the stripes from the sleeve of a disgraced soldier.

——**cum decempedis**: to signify that they were unfit to be warriors, but worthy only to carry the implements of laborers.

25. "**commilitones**" **appellabat**: as Caesar had done. Cf. Iul. § 67, note.——**ambitiosius**: "too fawning."——**servos adhuc**, etc. "And these men previously slaves and levied upon very wealthy men and women and at once set free, he retained under their original standard, neither enrolled with soldiers of free birth nor armed in like manner with them."——**phaleras et torques.** Cf. Juv. 16. 60: *Ut laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus omnes.* The phalerae were bosses of gold, silver, or bronze, fastened to the belt by a copper clasp. The torques were chains worn across the breast, and borrowed, according to Dr. Birch, from the Gauls. Cf. O. Jahn, Die Lauersforter Phalerae, Bonn, 1860, and the note of Prof. Mayer on Juv. l. c.——**vallares** = castrenses.——**Σπεῦδε βραδέως.** Gell. 10. 11 says of this: *Illud Nigidianum rei atque verbi temperamentum Divus Augustus duobus Graecis verbis elegantissime exprimebat. Nam et dicere in sermonibus et scribere in epistulis solitum esse aiunt* σπεῦδε βραδέως, *per quod monebat ut ad rem agendam simul adhiberetur et industriae celeritas et diligentiae tarditas ex quibus duobus contrariis fit 'maturitas.'* The expression is likewise found in the remains of the Στρατηγικά of the Macedonian Polyaenus, dedicated to Antoninus and Varus. See the books collected by E. Wölfflin (Leipzig, Teubner, 1860), 8. 24. 4. The Latin proverb *festina lente* is simply a translation of this Greek saying.——**'Ασφαλής κ.τ.λ.** A line from the Phoenissae of Euripides (l. 612), where it is put into the mouth of Polynices. Appian, 5. 84, attributes a similar sentiment to Augustus at the time of his conflict with Sex. Pompey.——**captura**: post-Aug. word.

26. ante tempus. See § 10.——**admotis hostiliter ad urbem legionibus.** So Dio Cass. 46. 42 and 43.——**ostendens gladii capulum.** So Cornet Joyce, when with a troop of horse he ordered Charles I. to leave Holmby House with him, and the king had asked for his commission, pointed to his troopers, with the words, "There is my commission." To which Charles is said to have replied, "It is written in characters fair and legible."——**C. et Lucium filios.** His grandchildren in reality; being the sons of his daughter Julia by her marriage with Agrippa.

See §§ 64 and 65.——**tirocinio** : the ceremony of the assumption of the toga virilis, which was one of much importance, the friends of the *tiro* following him in procession to the forum. When the word *tirocinium* in this sense would otherwise be ambiguous, its meaning is made obvious by the addition of the word *fori*. See Tib. § 54.——**suffecto alio** : *suffectus* is the t. t. for an official who is appointed to fill out another's term, for which Suet. uses *substitutus* in Tib. § 4.

27. paganorum. In this passage *paganus* is opposed in meaning to *armatus*, *caligatus*, or *sagatus*, and is equivalent to *togatus*, i.e., a civilian. It is probably in this sense that we are to explain the Eng. 'pagan,' following directly the language of the Latin Fathers, who use *paganus* of any one who has not "put on the whole armor of God," and become a member of the Church militant. Pliny, Epist. 10. 86. 2, says *milites et pagani*, "soldiers and civilians." Tacitus (Hist. 3. 24) represents Antonius Primus as taunting his troops by saying, *Vos nisi vincitis, pagani*, etc. See also Juv. 16. 32–34; Suet. Galb. § 19; and for the usage of the Christian writers, Tertull. de Pall. 4 p. *m. paganos in militaribus*. The popularly accepted explanation of the origin of our word 'pagan' makes it identical with that of the native English term 'heathen,' receiving its present meaning from the undoubted fact that the dwellers in the rural districts (*pagi*) were the last to abandon the heathen rites and to receive Christianity. This view of the word is held by Schroeckh and by Skeat, and, of course, by all the popular writers on English. But the probable truth of the matter is, that it was first applied by the Christians to those who refused the *sacramentum*, and hence were metaphorically *pagani* or *togati*. See Godefroy's Comment. on the Theod. Cod. VI. p. 250; Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, p. 1198, note; Mayor on Juv. 16. 33.——**morum legumque regimen** : i.e., the office of praefectus morum, mentioned in Caes. § 76.

28. post oppressum statim Antonium : used for *statim post* found in § 83 : *statim post civilia bella.*——**rationarium** : called *breviarium* in § 101.——**illam** : i.e., *rem publicam*. It was probably at this time that Horace wrote his allegorical ode (1. 14), beginning, *O navis referent in mare te novi Fluctus!*——**plurium arbitrio.** Agrippa and Maecenas are said by Dio Cass. to have

differed on this question, Agrippa strongly advising Augustus to lay aside the supreme power, and Maecenas as strongly urging its retention. The advice of Agrippa is believed to have been due to the undoubted fact that upon the retirement of Augustus he would himself have been the most powerful man in the Republic. Dio (52. 1 sqq.) professes to give the arguments used by the two men on the occasion mentioned.——**eventu meliore**: "by a more propitious fate," i.e., a chance more propitious to the Roman people. Bonus Eventus was one of the recognized Roman deities, also known as Deus Sanctus Eventus in the Inscriptions. That Suet. considers the rule of Augustus a wise and beneficial one, may be seen from the expressions employed in §§ 42, 51, 57.——**Ita mihi salvam**: *ita = hac condicione.*——**latericiam**: Plin. H. N. 35. 14, quoted by Casaubon, says that in his time there were no walls of brick, because a law declared that no wall should exceed a foot and a half in thickness, and a brick wall of that thickness would not possess sufficient strength.

29. aedem Tonantis Iovis. See § 91, note.——**iudiciorum multitudo.** Augustus added to the three decuriae of judices a fourth. See § 32.——**duobus**: i.e., the Forum Romanum, *the* Forum *par excellence* during the Republic, and covering seven jugera of land between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills; and the Forum Julii, built by Julius Caesar *de manubiis*, as stated by our author in Iul. § 26.——**praelucentem**: "carrying a light before him."——**Marcelli**. The son of his sister Octavia by C. Marcellus, and the subject of the famous passage in the Aeneid, 6. 860–836.——**aedes Herculis Musarum.** One of the epithets of Hercules in the Greek Inscriptions is the Doric *Μουσαγέτης* (Corp. Inscrip. Graec. 5987. Cf. Lob. Phryn. 430), a title which belongs properly to Apollo. Macrobius (Sat. 1. 12. 16) says: *Fulvius Nobilior in Fastis quos in aede Herculis Musarum posuit*, etc., on which see Livy, 38. init. Eumenius the Rhetorician, quoted by Torrentius, says: *Aedem Herculis Musarum in Circo Flaminio Fulvius ille Nobilior ex pecunia censoria fecit, non id modo secutus quod ipse litteris et summa poetae amicitia duceretur; sed quod in Graecia cum esset imperator acceperat Herculem Musageten esse, id est comitem ducemque Musarum. Idemque primus signa novem, hoc est omnium Camenarum ex Ambraciensi oppido translata sub tutela for-*

tissimi numinis consecravit quia mutuis operis et praemiis iuvari ornarique deberent, Musarum quies defensione Herculis, virtus Herculis voce Musarum. The *summa poetae amicitia* is, of course, the friendship between Fulvius and the poet Ennius, of which Cicero speaks. in the oration for Archias, in words that bear upon the connection of the Muses with Hercules : *ille qui cum Aetolis Ennio comite bellavit Fulvius non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consecrare. Qua re in qua urbe imperatores prope armati poetarum nomen et Musarum delubra coluerunt, in ea non debent togati iudices a Musarum honore et a poetarum salute abhorrere.* In the edition of Suet. published at the Hague in 1691, prepared by J. G. Graevius, a cut is given of a denarius bearing on the obverse the head of Q. Pomponius Musa with his name, and on the reverse the figure of Hercules wearing the lion's skin and having his traditional club beside him, but playing the lyre. The figure is surrounded by the inscription: HERCVLES MVSARVM. Inferior MSS. read in the present passage *Herculis et Musarum*, and so Plut. Quaest. Rom. 59: κοινὸς ἦν βωμὸς Ἡρακλέους καὶ Μουσῶν. The same author explains the connection between Hercules and the Muses by a Latin legend quoted from Juba, which makes Hercules to have taught Evander the use of letters. The whole subject is very obscure, the most satisfactory view being that of Eumenius cited above, which makes the relation between Hercules and the Muses an external and accidental one. Cf. the Ausführliches Lexikon der Griech. und Röm. Mythologie, Leipzig, 1888, s. v. Hercules; and Die Musen in der Antiken Kunst, Berlin, Weidmann, 1887. The Marcius Philippus, mentioned in connection with this temple, was the stepfather of Augustus, as stated in § 8.

30. regiones vicosque. There were 14 regiones: the number of *vici* is not definitely known.——**excubias nocturnas vigilesque** : The police force and the fire department at Rome were practically one. The great defect in the old city government had been the lack of any well-organized police. Augustus enrolled some 7000 *vigiles*, divided into seven *cohortes*, each *cohors* having charge of two of the fourteen *regiones* or precincts. This *cohors* or battalion was divided into seven companies, each under a captain (*centurio*)—the whole body of police being commanded by a chief of police or superintendent, known as the

praefectus vigilum. This officer had very large powers and great responsibilities. His detectives were stationed at the cloak-rooms of the *thermae ;* he kept an eye upon all vagabonds, slaves, and suspicious characters; and was generally responsible for the maintenance of public order. Through his subordinates he also kept strict watch over the kitchens of every house, saw that the heating apparatus was safe and in proper order, and that every basement had a proper supply of water for use in case of fire. After a fire he conducted a strict investigation, and saw to the punishment of those who by reason of negligence were to blame. Juvenal (3. 7) speaks of fires as being of frequent occurrence, as might have been expected from the fact that the upper stories of the houses were regularly of wood, as were the numerous outhouses. Martial (5. 7) compares Rome to the Phoenix. Pliny the Elder, in several passages, regards the frequent fires as a proper punishment of luxury. Gellius (15. 1. 2) makes a friend of the rhetorician Julianus remark on the fires of Rome which lessen the profits derived from the renting of houses. Cf. also Juv. 3. 197–8; and Seneca, Controv. 9. 11: *tanta altitudo aedificorum est tantaeque viarum angustiae ut neque adversus ignem praesidium nec ex ruinis ullam in partem effugium sit.* Nero gave orders that every householder should keep in the *propatulum aedium* the means of quenching fires (Tac. Ann. 15. 43). Juvenal again (14. 303 sq.) speaks of the constant fear of fires on the part of the rich. The *subsidia reprimendis ignibus* at Rome were rather primitive, consisting of large buckets (*hamae*), ropes (*sparta*), and a kind of fire-engine (*sipho*) mentioned by Pliny (Epist. 10. 33. 2), who tells of a great fire at Nicomedia, and says: *Nullus usquam in publico sipho, nulla hama; nullum denique instrumentum ad incendia compescenda.* The Digest, 33. 7. 12, § 18, mentions other appliances of the same sort. The Roman populace were not especially fond of their guardians, and seem to have guyed them after the fashion of modern times, giving them certain picturesque names corresponding with the "Bobbies" of London, the "Cops" of New York, and the "Roussins" of Paris,—e.g., *siponarii* or "squirts," and *sparteoli* or "bucket-boys." On the police and fire-department of ancient Rome, see Friedländer I. 27–9; Mayor on Juv. 14. 305; and the very interesting chapter on the subject in Lanciani, pp.

206–230.——**manubiali pecunia** : money derived from the sale of the *praeda*, and so simply the same as *manubiae*.

31. vivo Lepido. Seneca, de Clement. 1, says: *Ipsum Lepi. n . . . per multos annos tulit ornamenta principis retinentem pontificatum maximum non nisi mortuo illo transferri in se passus est; maluit enim illum honorem vocari quam spolium.* ——**dilectu habito.** And so Tiberius, as stated by Dio Cass.——**negligentia conturbatum.** Cf. Macrob. S. 1. 14, and note on Iul. § 40.——**Salutis augurium.** Dio Cassius (37. 24) explains this *augurium* in the following words: *τοῦτο δὲ μαντείας τις τρόπος ἐστὶ, πίστιν τινὰ ἔχων εἰ ἐπιτρέπει σφίσιν ὁ Θεὸς ὑγίειαν τῷ δήμῳ αἰτῆσαι· ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον οὐδὲ αἴτησιν αὐτῆς πρὶν συγχωρηθῆναι, γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐτελεῖτο κατ᾽ ἔτος ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ μηδὲν στρατόπεδον μήτε ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξῄει μήτ᾽ ἀντεπαρετάττετό τις μήτε ἐμάχετο.*——**Ludos Saeculares.** For which Horace wrote the Carmen Saeculare, in the year 17 B.C.——**Compitalicios** : known as the Compitalia, because celebrated at the *compita* or cross-roads. Gell. (10. 24. 3) says: *more maiorum ferias concipere solet quae appellantur Compitalia*, and Macrob. S. 1. 7. 34, states that it was originally accompanied with human sacrifices: *idque aliquam diu observatum ut pro familiarium sospitate pueri mactarentur, Maniae deae, matri Larum.* It was held soon after the Saturnalia each year, and on a day appointed by the praetor (*feriae conceptivae*).——**regiam.** Pure Latin word for *basilicam*.

32. grassatorum. Tiberius also undertook the task of suppressing these criminals. Cf. Tib. § 37.——**grassaturas.** Incorrectly marked by L. and S. as *ἅπαξ λεγ.* It occurs in Tib. § 37, and in the Digest, 48. 19. 16, the latter passage, curiously enough, being quoted even by L. and S. themselves.——**ergastula.** The work-houses for refractory slaves, attached to each large estate. ——**collegia praeter antiqua dissolvit.** As did Caesar, in Iul. § 42.——**sordibus.** *sordes* is the dishevelled and unkempt condition of those in mourning, especially as here of those who are *rei*. So *tunica sordida*, a mourning garment. Cf. Cic. pro Mur. 40. 86, *sordibus confectus*. So Cicero himself, when threatened with banishment, let his hair and beard grow, dressed himself in mourning, and ran about the Forum begging votes and seeking popular sympathy.——**actui rerum** : "to the trying of

cases." Here *res* = *causa*, as very often.——**Novembri ac Decembri mense.** Because in those months there were very few *dies fasti*, on which the courts could be opened, owing to the number of games and festivals that were then celebrated.

33. ne culleo insueretur. The punishment prescribed by the Lex Pompeia de Parricidiis. The slayer of a father, mother, grandfather, or grandmother, *dolo malo*, was first scourged and then thrown into the sea, sewn up in a sack together with a cock, a dog, a viper, and an ape. Cf. Nero, § 45.——**lege Cornelia.** The Lex Cornelia Testamentaria passed under Sulla, and punishing the crime of *falsum*, for which see Dict. of Antiq. s. v. *Falsum*.——**duas tabellas.** One marked A (absolvo), whence A is called the *littera salutaris ;* and the other marked C (condemno), whence C is called the *littera tristis.*

34. ex integro. So *de integro*, *ab integro*, and *denuo.* On the laws mentioned here intended to regulate the public morals, cf. with Hase, Hor. C. 4. 5. 21; id. ib. 4. 15. 9; id. Carm. Saec. 17; Gell. 2. 24.——**vacatione trienni** : i.e., the release for three years from any obligation to marry again.——**matrimoniorum crebra mutatione.** Of course for the purpose of enjoying a *vacatio trienni.*——**tempus coartavit.** Making it two years instead of three.——**divortiis modum imposuit.** By declaring the dowry forfeited by the one responsible for the divorce.

35. Senatorum numerum. See Iul. § 80. The additional senators had been admitted by Antony.——**Orcinos.** So called because their elevation was due to Orcus. Plutarch (Ant. 15) renders the term in Greek by the word *Χαρωνῖται. Διὸ τούτους ἅπαντας ἐπισκώπτοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι 'Χαρωνίτας' ἐκάλουν· ἐλεγχόμενοι γὰρ εἰς τοὺς τοῦ νεκροῦ κατέφευγον ὑπομνηματισμούς.*——**vir virum legit.** Each senator named one whom he deemed worthy of remaining in the senate, the result of this expression of opinion determining Augustus in his choice. Dio Cass. (52. 42) says that fifty senators voluntarily resigned. After the reorganization of the senate, the number of senators remained about 600.——**Cordus Cremutius.** An inversion of the name. Seneca (Cons. ad Marc. 1. 2) gives it in full as A. Cremutius Cordus. His work on the fall of the Republic and the founding of the Empire was condemned under Tiberius and burnt by order of the senate

(Tac. Ann. 4. 34), after which the author committed suicide by starvation. He is the *historicus* mentioned by Suet. in Tib. § 61: *obiectum et historico quod Brutum Cassiumque ultimos Romanorum dixisset.*——**epulandique publice ius**: i.e., at the *epulum Iovis* and the banquets given in honor of the other gods, presided over by the Epulones (Triumviri Epulones, later Septemviri Epulones) who formed one of the four great collegia at Rome. Val. Max. says (2. 1. 2): *feminae cum viris cubantibus sedentes cenitabant: quae consuetudo ex hominum convictu ad divina penetravit; nam Iovis epulo ipse in lectulum, Iuno et Minerva in sellas, ad cenam invitantur. Quod genus severitatis aetas nostra diligentius in Capitolio, quam in suis domibus servat: videlicet quia magis ad rem pertinet dearum quam mulierum, disciplina contineri.* Cf. also Livy, 5. 13. 5 sq.——**legitimus senatus.** There seems to have existed no regular rule as to what constituted a quorum of the senate. Those present usually decided whether or not they were sufficiently numerous to proceed with the business on hand. *legitimus senatus* is a regular session of the senate, held until the change made by Augustus, on the Kalends, Nones, and Ides of every month; *senatus indictus* is an extraordinary session, summoned by the curule magistrates or by the tribunes.——**Septembri Octobrive mense.** Because this was the season of the vintage.——**consilia**: "committees."

36. **acta senatus.** See Iul. § 20, note.——**centumviralem hastam.** The spear was the sign of the magisterial power and of the place where the court was held; hence the word *hasta* becomes a tech. term for the court itself. Cf. *ius hastae* in Tac. Ann. 13. 28.

37. **nova officia**: "new offices." In this sense the word *officium* is post-Aug. Cf. Tib. § 42: *novum officium instituit a voluptatibus.*——**triumviratum legendi senatus.** Formerly the right of the censors by the Lex Ovinia.——**numerum praetorum.** Originally there was but one; after B.C. 246, two; under Sulla, eight; under Julius Caesar, at first ten and ultimately sixteen. Hence when our author says that Augustus increased the number of praetors, he must mean as compared with the number in the days of the Republic, for the number was in reality lessened to twelve.

38. **iustos triumphos.** Evidently not *iusti triumphi* in the

strict legal sense of the word, for so many generals could not possibly have satisfied the conditions of a *iustus triumphus*, which were, (1) that the general should have held the office of praetor, consul, or dictator; (2) that the victory should have been won under his auspices and in his province; (3) that the war should have been waged against a foreign enemy; (4) that at least 5000 of the hostile force should have fallen in battle; (5) that the Roman loss should have been comparatively small; (6) that the boundaries of the Empire should by this victory have been enlarged; and (7) that the victory should have terminated the war. The triumphs mentioned in the text must therefore have been granted by special favor, waiving many of the once essential conditions.——**intercapedinem.** A tech. term used again by Suet. in Vesp. § 10.——**more travectionis.** The inspection of the equites was formerly held by the censors. The *travectio equitum* was properly, however, a procession held on the Ides of July each year under the Republic, in which the knights rode through the city to the Forum, crowned with wreaths of olive and wearing all the decorations that they had won in battle. See Livy, 9. 46. 15, and Dict. of Antiq. s. v. *Equites.*——**gratiam fecit eis.** "He excused those." See § 17: *Bononiensibus gratiam fecit.*

39. notavit. A tech. term of the census, referring to the *nota censoria* placed opposite the name of a person on the lists.

40. metu poenae theatralis. The punishment imposed upon those who sat in the first fourteen rows without having the proper fortune of 400,000 sesterces. The Lex Iulia Theatralis, however, had excused from punishment those who had ever had, or whose parents had ever had, the equestrian census. Augustus, therefore, simply revived this law. See Pliny, H. N. 33. 2.——**quaternûm mensum tesseras** : "with corn-tickets for four months." *quaternum* for *quaternorum*, as in three other passages in Latin. With *tesseras* sc. *frumentarias*, for which see Nero, § 11, *tesserae frumentariae.* In the next chapter we have money-tickets mentioned; *tesserae nummariae.*——**Fabianis et Scaptiensibus.** To the *tribus Scaptia* belonged the Octavian gens in which he was born; and to the *tribus Fabia* the Julian gens into which he had passed by adoption *per testamentum.*——**a se** : i.e., de suo, for which see § 45. From his own means.

——**fisco**. Originally a woven basket (cf. *fascis*, *φάκελος*, Skt. paç, to bind); then a bag, purse (as in Claud. § 18, *positis ante se cum pecunia fiscis*); then the public treasury, as in Cic. in Verr. 2. 3. 85; and finally the Emperor's privy purse, as here.——**libertate . . . libertate iusta**. *libertas* is personal freedom; *libertas iusta* implies political freedom. A slave who had during his servitude suffered punishment for any of the grosser offences came, when manumitted, into the ranks of the *dediticii*, having no relation to the Roman people than that of a subject. Otherwise, he might ultimately secure citizenship.——**pullatorum**. Not necessarily, as L. and S. give it, "of the common people," but "of men wearing the lacerna," as the context clearly shows. See Plin. Epist. 7. 17. 9. The lacerna was commonly dark in color, and often worn over the toga. In § 44 the word *pullatorum* possibly refers to the common people, but even there it is doubtful. In Claud. § 6, the lacerna is thrown off by the knights at the theatre as a token of respect to the Emperor at his coming: *quin et spectaculis advenienti assurgere et lacernas deponere* (equester ordo) *solebat*.——**En, Romanos**, etc. The verse is from Verg. Aen. 1. 282, spoken by Jupiter to Venus.——**circove**. Roth with Oudendorp reads *circave*.

41. qui cavere in duplum possent. "Who could give security to double the amount."——**taxavit**. Frequentative of *tango* (*tago*), and a post-Aug. verb, except in the expression *dumtaxat*, which is written in the Inscript. as two words.

42. destinaret. Inexact use of the imperfect, where a strict regard for syntax requires the pluperfect *destinasset* because of its dependence upon *affirmavit*. Others, taking the words *quamvis dare destinaret* as those of the author and not of Augustus, change the verb to the plup. indic. *destinârat*, which is very possibly correct, as *quamvis* in the later prose, especially in Tacitus, is used with the indicative. A. and G. 313, *a* and *g*.——**magna sterilitate**. Paulus Orosius, the Spanish presbyter, writing in the fifth century, attributes this scarcity of food to the divine displeasure at the profanation of the Temple at Jerusalem. (Hist. 7. 3.) On the famine see Dio Cass. 55. 26.——**rationem deduceret**: "that he should take no less account of the farmers and tradespeople than of the populace." The expression *rationem deduceret* with the genitive is so utterly without parallel as to lead most edd. to

fall back upon the easier reading *rationem duceret*, which was adopted by Ernesti and Oudendorp. Yet the ordinary MS. reading is *deduceret*, and it seems to admit of a reasonable explanation if we only recall the fondness of Suetonius for using compounds in the sense of the uncompounded forms,—a peculiarity to which attention has already several times been called. Cf. *bis eundem praeponentes* = ponentes, Iul. § 20; *prospere decedentibus rebus* = cedentibus as in § 91, *cessit res prospere; in foro depugnavit* = pugnavit, Iul. § 39; *praemia persolverentur* = solverentur, Aug. § 15; *tensas deduceret* = duceret, Aug. § 43, and Vespas. § 5. It is reasonable, then, to allow the MS. reading in the present passage to stand, and to regard the compound as having the force of the simple verb. See Introd. 13, *c*.

43. pluribus scaenis : "on very many stages."——**per omnium linguarum histriones**. Cf. Iul. § 39.——**Munera**. I have supplied this word, the conjecture of Ernesti, to fill the lacuna which Roth allows to remain after *histriones*.——**Septis**. In the Campus Martius.——**Caesarum nemus**. Called after Gaius and Lucius, the grandsons of Augustus.——**Troiae lusum**. See Iul. § 39, note.——**Aesernini**. Aeserninus Marcellus, mentioned by Tac. Ann. 3. 11.——**bipedali minor**. Though Augustus himself was averse to such exhibitions. See infra, § 83.——**Parthorum obsides**. Cf. supra, § 21.——**tensas deduceret**. The *tensae* were elaborately decorated cars used to convey the statues of the gods to the pulvinaria at the time of the Circensian games, escorted by the senators and *pueri patrimi* (the children of parents married by the patrician ceremony of the confarreatio), who helped draw the *tensa* by laying hold of the traces. If the driver thoughtlessly took the reins in his left hand, the procession had to be commenced anew, and for one of the *patrimi* to stumble was profanation.

44. ordinavit: "reduced to order."——**nemo receperat** : "no one had risen to receive."——**muliebre secus**. Indeclinable neuter form of *sexus*, usually found only in the accusative, as here. So *virile ac muliebre secus*, Tac. Hist. 5. 13. Some edd. in the present passage have *muliebre sexus omne*, regarding *sexus* as a neut. like *penus;* still others read *muliebrem sexum omnem*.

45. cenaculis : "from the upper rooms." So Dio Cass. of Tiberius, 57. 11.——**ex pulvinari**. Not, as Hase remarks, the

pulvinar of the gods on which they reposed at the Circensian games; but the special *pulvinar* first decreed to Julius Caesar, and mentioned by our author in Iul. § 76. So in Claud. § 4, Augustus in a letter to Livia, speaking of Claudius, says: *Spectare eum Circenses ex pulvinari non placet nobis.*——**suam vicem fungerentur.** See Introd. 13. fin.——**et saepe**: *et* = *sed*. Introd. 17.——**corollaria.** Originally known as *struppi*, according to Pliny, H. N. 21. 2.——**de suo.** Cf. *a se* in § 40.——**legitimos atque ordinarios**: "the ordinary professionals."——**inter angustias vicorum.** So *angustiis flexurisque vicorum*, Nero, § 38. ——**sine missione**: "without quarter," i.e., *ad mortem*.——**coercitionem in histriones.** The ancient *ius virgarum in histriones* which empowered the praetor to scourge them; while magistrates generally had the right of imprisoning them at any time at pleasure, thus putting actors on a par with prostitutes and vagrants. In the reign of Tiberius the license of the *histriones* grew so great that Tacitus says, *actum apud patres dicebanturque sententiae ut praetoribus ius virgarum in histriones esset* (Ann. 1. 77). Tiberius, however, did not restore it, though he at one time by a sudden exercise of power had all actors banished from Italy, —*pulsi tunc histriones Italia* (id. ib. 4. 14).——**xysticorum**: "the athletes;" and so in Galba, 15. The *xystus* was a covered portico used by the gymnasts in the winter. See infra, § 72, *xystis et nemoribus.*——**Stephanionem togatarium.** The same probably as the Stephanio mentioned by Pliny (H. N. 7. 48) as having been the first to dance on the stage in a comedy representing Roman manners (hence *togatarium*), and as having lived to a great old age, inasmuch as he danced at both celebrations of the Ludi Saeculares, that under Augustus and again under Claudius, the interval between them being 63 years. *togatarius* is a ἅπαξ λεγ. if we allow the reading to stand. Others read *togatarum* (sc. fabularum actorem), which seems difficult.——**per trina theatra**: i.e., those of Pompey, Balbus, and Marcellus.——**pantomimum.** A performer in a species of dramatic exhibition, in which one actor sustained all the parts; hence the name. The pantomime seems to have been introduced at the time of Augustus, and became extremely popular. The famous *pantomimus*, Paris, mentioned by Juvenal, 6. 87; 7. 87; and by Mart. 11. 13. 3, was put to death for an intrigue with the empress Domitia. Cf.

Suet. Domit. §§ 3 and 10.——**demonstrasset digito**. Probably by thrusting out the middle finger (*digitus infamis*), which was considered a gross insult among both the Greeks and Romans. A similar gesture made by Caligula to his officer Chaerea led to the conspiracy which ended in the Emperor's murder (Calig. § 56). So among the Greeks, as may be seen from Arrian, Epict. 3. 2. 11, cited by Mayor on Juv. 10. 53. It was also regarded by the common people as a spell against the "evil eye," a superstition which still prevails in Italy. Prof. Gildersleeve on Pers. 2. 33 notes that the belief is embodied in coral amulets and *breloques* made at Genoa. A somewhat similar gesture of insult was in vogue in England some two centuries ago. It consisted in the thrusting out of two fingers at the person whom it was desired to insult, and was popularly called "making the horns at him." An incident very similar to that in the present passage will be found related of Tarlton, the actor, under the heading: "How Tarlton and One in the Gallery fell out," given in Hazlitt's reprint of Tarlton's Jests (London, 1866), p. 205.

46. dignatione. A favorite word of Tac. and Suet. See L. and S. s. h. v.——**sub die**: "*on* the day."

47. Latinitate vel civitate. *Latinitas* or the *ius Latii* was the status of a person just below the grade of a *civis*. A Latinus could attain full citizenship either by gift of the Emperor (*beneficium principale*), by becoming the father of children, by six years' service among the *vigiles*, by building a house in Rome, by building a grain-vessel and importing grain to Rome for six years, or by owning and managing a mill for three years. See Ulpian, Frag. tit. III. (Huschke), and Gaius, I. 28–34.

48. curae habuit. So Sall. Cat. 21: *ut petitionem curae haberent.*——**mente lapsis**. Medical term found in Cels. 5. 26. 13. Cf. with L. and S. *lapsae mentis errorem*, Val. Max. 5. 3. 2.

49. provinciatim. A word first found in this passage.——**Calagurritanorum**. From Hispania Tarraconensis. Cf. Iul. § 86: *custodias Hispanorum.*——**Germanorum**. Dio Cass. 56. 23.——**quidquid militum**. Cf. *tantum hominum* in Iul. § 39. ——**sub manum**: "handily." In Cicero, *sub manu*.

50. sphinge usus est. Pliny (H. N. 37. 1. 10), giving an account of celebrated signets, mentions this and the frog of Maecenas, concluding with the remark: *Augustus postea ad evitanda*

convicia sphingis, Alexandri Magni imagine signavit.——**horarum . . . momenta.** *momenta*, of course, is used to define *horarum*, "the exact hour, and not merely of the day, but also the night."

51. civilitatisque eius. A rare word either in the sense of πολιτική, or in its present meaning. Cf. Claud. § 35, *iactator civilitatis.*

52. conflavit. In this sense mostly post-Aug., and often found in Suet.——**exque iis.** The enclitic *que* is usually added to prepositions only when the preposition is repeated, as in Claud. § 43, *de matrimonio deque adoptione.* Some of the best MSS. in the passage before us read *ex quîs*, with which we may compare *in quîs*, § 36, init.

53. domini appellationem: "the title of lord." Orosius, 6. 22, implies that even in the time of Augustus, the word *dominus* had something of a theological significance, and that Augustus shrank from arrogating to himself a title that implied the assumption of divine sanctity. *Domini appellationem ut homo declinavit*, he says. A supporter of this view might refer to Tib. § 27, where Tiberius forbade any one to allude to the duties of his office as "sacred." So far as the term *dominus* is concerned, however, the view of Orosius is that of one to whom the usage of the Christian Church has given a false notion of the classical meaning of the word. The real force of the Emperor's objection to the title was of a political nature. The word *dominus* to a Roman, like δεσπότης to a Greek, meant specifically a master in relation to his slaves; or, politically, a tyrant, one who possesses arbitrary power, and hence equivalent to *tyrannus, rex*, words of hateful import. So *domini legum*, Cic. Rep. 1. 32; and *Hic est enim dominus populi quem Graeci 'tyrannum' vocant*, id. ib. 2. 26. So also in Sallust, Jug. 85: *exercitum supplicio cogere id est* DOMINUM *non Imperatorem esse.* Hence when Tiberius declined it (Tib. § 27) he did so, as Suet. expressly says, because he regarded it as used *contumeliae causa*, for at that time he was posing as the single-minded unambitious public servant. The whole policy of Augustus was to hold fast the substance while studiously avoiding the symbols of royalty; and hence a title like *dominus* would be peculiarly displeasing to him. Later, when the imperial power had become hedged about by precedent and tradition, the master of the State willingly ac-

cepted the title as his due. So Domitian was pleased when the people saluted him and his consort in the amphitheatre with the flattering cry of *domino et dominae feliciter!* (Domit. § 13.) That Augustus was not troubled by superstitious reverence for the gods, is evident from his blasphemous personation of Apollo, described infra, § 70. The word *dominus*, besides retaining its force as a term of great dignity, underwent a further development as a social title. It is the germ of modern titles of courtesy, passing into the Low Latin forms *domnus*, *domna*, *donnus*, *dominicella*, and thence into the familiar *dom*, *don*, *doña*, *dame* (originally used of men), *madame* (mea domna), *demoiselle*, *mademoiselle*, and the O. Eng. *dan*. Among the Romans, *dominus* appears as a title of courtesy in Claud. § 21, where the Emperor, to make his plebeian guests feel quite at ease, greets them respectfully as *domini* (*'dominos' identidem appellans*). So Martial to Caecilianus (6. 88):

> Mane salutavi vero te nomine casu,
> Nec dixi 'dominum' Caeciliane 'meum':

that is, "I forgot to call you 'Mister.'" It was also a term of affection, as in Ovid, Am. 3. 7. 11. Though Augustus declined the title *dominus*, because of its unpleasant associations, his courtiers were not long in finding others. Horace seems to be the first to have coined the modern epithet, "Your Majesty," in Epist. 2. 1. 258:

> Carmen Maiestas recipit Tua;

and so the younger Pliny, who also employs the flattering term Aeternitas Tua (Epist. 10. 83). Eutropius in his Preface addresses Valens as Tranquillitas Tua, "Your Serene Highness." Symmachus in his *Relationes*, in addition to these titles, employs Clementia Tua, "Your Grace" (3. 6, ed. Meyer); Serenitas Tua (8. 3); and Perennitas Tua (13. 3). Cassiodorus (A.D. 575) has Magnitudo Tua, "Your Mightiness" (Var. 9. 13). Celsitudo Tua is found several times in the Cod. Theod. In the text *domini* is the appositive genitive, for which see A. and G. 214, *f.*; Hk. 396. VI.——**quasi de se ipso dictum.** For the readiness of the people to catch at allusions in the mimes and apply them to topics of the day, see the expurgated portion of § 69, and Nero, § 39.——**officii causa**: "for the sake of cere-

mony."——**desideria**: "petitions."——**quasi elephanto stipem.** Quint. Inst. 6. 3. 59, and Macrob. S. 2. 4. 3, both quote this remark, giving, however, *assem* for *stipem*.——**nullo submonente**: "without a prompter," i.e., a *nomenclator*.——**grandi iam natu.** The reading of Oudendorp, *grandior natu*, gives a more natural reading, but lacks MS. authority.——**sponsaliorum**: a rare form for the usual *sponsalium*, but found also in Seneca.——**Gallum Terrinium.** Inverted name.

54. Antistius Labeo. The distinguished jurist, said by Tac. (Ann. 3. 75) to have been *incorrupta libertate et ob id fama celebratior.* Gell. (13. 12), however, adds from Capito to his praise of Labeo: *Sed agitabat hominem libertas quaedam nimia atque vecors tamquam eorum D. Augusto iam principe et rem publicam obtinente, ratum tamen pensumque nihil haberet nisi quod iussum sanctumque esse in Romanis antiquitatibus legisset.* Cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 82: *Labeone insanior inter Sanos dicatur*, which passage, however, scholars are not agreed upon, Bentley reading *Labieno*, and Schütz, Spohn, and Palmer retaining the MS. reading, but referring it to the C. Atinius Labeo mentioned in Livy, Epit. 59.——**senatus lectione.** Cf. § 35.

56. contradixit. Not written as one word until our author's time.——**Asprenas Nonius.** Inverted name. Cf. § 43.——**Cassio Severo.** Tac. Ann. 1. 72 says: *primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis . . . tractavit commotus Cassii Severi libidine qua viros feminasque illustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat.* Cf. also id. ib. 4. 21. Seneca has preserved specimens of his writings and oratory. Numerous references will be found in Teuffel, § 262. 11. See also the anecdote in Suet. de Gramm. § 22.——**superesset . . . deesset.** For these technical terms see the chapter of Gellius, 1. 22.——**Castricium.** Unknown.——**Murenae.** Cf. § 19.

57. Kal. Ian. strenam. New Year's gifts were made on the Kalends of January, the recipients making presents in return (*strenarum commercium*). The origin of the custom seems to have been the desire to begin the year *secundo omine.* Tiberius *prohibuit item strenarum commercium ne ultra Kal. Ian. exerceretur. Consuerat quadruplam strenam et de manu reddere* Tib. § 34. Dio Cass. (57. 8) says that the same Emperor often left the city on the first of January to avoid receiving the

strenae. Caligula revived the custom, and even *edixit et strenas ineunte anno se recepturum stetitque in vestibulo aedium Kal. Ian. ad captandas stipes* (Calig. § 42). Claudius again abolished the practice (Dio Cass. 60. 6). Symmachus speaks of a later revival of it. The word *strena* is of Sabine origin, surviving in the Mod. French *étrenne.* In its origin the term appears to have been generally applied to an omen, and only later to a New Year's gift. Plautus uses the expression *bona strena* in the sense of *omen secundum* (Stich. v. 2. 24).

58. P. C. Patres Conscripti. The same letters also stand for Patronus Civitatis, Patronus Coloniae, Potestate Censoria, and a number of less common expressions.

59. Antonio Musae. Pliny (H. N. 19. 7. 128) speaks of Musa as curing Augustus of a severe illness by prescribing lettuce, which his former physician C. Aemilius had forbidden him to eat. Cf. id. ib. 29. 5. Suet. again mentions him infra, § 81. Horace was under his care: *nam mihi Baias Musa supervacuas Antonius et tamen illis Me facit invisum* Epist. I. 15. 3 sq.——**praelato titulo.** A scroll or label to denote the reason of the sacrifice.——**super.** Adverbial (if we read *ludosque*), as also in the phrase *satis superque,* which is Ciceronian.——**oppidatim**: A word apparently coined by Suetonius.

60. Caesareas. Towns of this name, or Sebaste = Augusta, were founded in Mauritania, Samaria, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Pisidia, and Armenia.

62. simultate cum Fulvia. At the time of the Perusian war. Cf. supra, § 14.

63. pueritiam egresso. The use of *egredior* in the active governing an accus. as here, is mostly confined to the historical and post-Aug. writers. *tantum quod* is a strengthened form of *tantum*, classically used of proximity in time. Cf. infra § 98, where it again occurs.——**sibi genero cederet**: *sibi* refers to Augustus, the object of the verb is Agrippam, and *genero* is the dative of the end for which: "to give up Agrippa to him for a son-in-law."——**Marcellarum.** The two Marcellae, the daughters of Octavia by her former husband C. Marcellus.

64. per assem et libram emptos. That is, by fictitious sale.——**lanificio assuefaceret.** Imitating the ancient usages which made the spinning of wool the characteristic, typical

task of the mater familias. Cf. the line of the Epitaph (Corp. Inscrip. Lat. 1007): *domum servavit: lanam fecit.*——**in diurnos commentarios**: "their diaries."——**referretur**: i.e., *referri posset.*

65. laetum atque fidentem: *laetum* goes in thought with *subole* and *fidentem* with *disciplina.*——**neptem.** Of this Julia, Tacitus (Ann. 4. 71) notes: *per idem tempus Iulia mortem obiit quam neptem Augustus convictam adulterii damnaverat proieceratque in insulam Trimerum haud procul Apulis litoribus.* Cf. also id. ib. 3. 25.——**amisit ambos.** Cf. Vell. 2. 102.——**per quaestorem recitato.** A quaestor acted as the medium of communication between the Emperor and the Senate, reading the imperial speech, much as the Lord Chancellor of England reads the Speech from the Throne. Cf. Nero, § 15: *De quibusdam rebus orationes ad senatum missas, praeterito quaestoris officio, per consulem plerumque recitabat.* Cf. also Tit. § 6.——**notum senatui fecit**: "he notified the Senate."——**Relegatae.** A. and G. 229; Hk. 385. II. 2.——**ex insula in continentem**: i.e., from the island of Pandateria to Regium. Cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 53.——**in insulam transportavit.** Planasia (Tac. Ann. 1. 3).——**Αἴθ' ὄφελον κ.τ.λ.** Slightly altered from Hom. Il. 3. 40.——**vomicas.** Censured as a coarse word by Quint. Inst. 8. 6. 15. See the citations in L. and S. s. h. v.

66. afflicti: "ruined."——**Salvidienum Rufum.** A legatus of Augustus during the civil war. Cf. Livy, Epit. 127: *Q. Salvidienum consilia nefaria contra Caesarem molitum iudicio suo protraxit* (M. Antonius) *isque damnatus mortem sibi conscivit.* Cf. also Vell. 2. 76; Dio Cass. 48. 13, 18, 33.——**Cornelium Gallum.** The Gallus of Vergil's Tenth Eclogue. Cf. also Eclog. 6. 64; Dio Cass. 53. 23.——**provinciis suis**: i.e., Caesareis.——**ad necem compulso**: "hounded to his death."——**Mytilenas.** Cf. Tib. § 10. Other writers, quoted by Baum-Crus., say that he was sent there by Augustus himself. Cf. Dio Cass. 53. 32.——**Murenae coniuratione.** Cf. supra, § 19.——**honorem verborum.** It was a point of honor to be mentioned in a friend's will, and a reproach to be passed over. Cicero says (ad Att. 11. 2. 1): *ex multis meis et miserrimis curis est una levata si . . . ista hereditas fidem et famam meam tueri potest.* Antony seems to have reproached Cicero with receiving few bequests: *Hereditatem mihi negasti venire* Cic. Philipp. 2. 16. 40. See Mayor ad h. l.

67. Patronus dominusque. So Iul. § 27, *domino patronove.* He was *dominus* of his slaves, and *patronus* of his freedmen.—— **Licinum.** Perhaps better *Licinium* with many MSS. In Macrob. S. 2. 4. 24, we find a Licinius mentioned as a freedman of Aug. ——**per metum** : equals *ob metum* or *metu.*——**Thallo a manu.** See Iul § 74, note.——**ei crura fregit.** The *ei* is pleonastic. ——**grassatos**: "deporting themselves."

[**68.** This section and the part of § 69 omitted in the text read as follows: Prima iuventa variorum dedecorum infamiam subiit. Sextus Pompeius ut effeminatum insectatus est; M. Antonius adoptionem avunculi stupro meritum; item L. Marci frater quasi pudicitiam, delibatam a Caesare, Aulo etiam Hirtio in Hispania trecentis milibus nummum substraverit, solitusque sit crura suburere nuce ardenti, quo mollior pilus surgeret. Sed et populus quondam universus ludorum die et accepit in contumeliam eius et adsensu maximo conprobavit versum in scaena pronuntiatum de gallo Matris deûm tympanizante: "Videsne, ut cinaedus orbem digito temperat?"

69. . . . . M. Antonius super festinatas Liviae nuptias obiecit et 'feminam consularem e triclinio viro coram in cubiculum abductam, rursus in convivium rubentibus auriculis incomptiore capillo reductam; dimissam Scriboniam, quia liberius doluisset nimiam potentiam pelicis; condiciones quaesitas per amicos, qui matres familias et adultas aetate virgines denudarent atque perspicerent, tamquam Thoranio mangone vendente.' Scribit etiam ad ipsum haec, familiariter adhuc necdum plane inimicus aut hostis: "Quid te mutavit, quod reginam ineo? uxor mea est. Nunc coepi, an abhinc annos novem? Tu deinde solam Drusillam inis? ita valeas, uti tu, hanc epistolam cum leges, non inieris Tertullam aut Terentillam aut Rufillam aut Salviam Titiseniam aut omnes. An refert, ubi et in qua arrigas?"

The Terentilla mentioned by Antony is probably Terentia, the wife of Maecenas, who was exceedingly fond of her, and notoriously jealous. Dio Cass. (54. 19, and 55. 7) relates that Augustus had an intrigue with her.]

70. in fabulis fuit: "was a subject of gossip."——**δωδεκάθεος.** A colloquial use of the word. *δωδεκάθεον* is found in Greek as the name of a medicine with twelve ingredients, and in

Pliny, H. N. 25. 4, as the name of a plant. The twelve gods are, of course, those given by Ennius in the familiar couplet:

> Iuno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
> Mercurius, Iovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

——**choragum** : i.e., Augustus.——**Mallia**. Either a woman or, possibly, the house where the dinner took place. *Mallia* possibly = *Manlia*. The whole epigram is very obscure.——**Impia dum**, etc. "While Caesar blasphemously plays the part of Phoebus, and while he represents at dinner new adulteries of the gods."——**cenat**. In this sense found only here.——**thronos**. Others read *toros*.——**Auxit cenae rumorem**: "increased the talk about the dinner."——**Tortorem** : the flayer of Marsyas. Xen. Anab. 1. 2. 8.——**praecupidus**. ἅπαξ λεγ. Cicero once uses *percupidus*, ad Fam. 1. 7. 2.——**Pater argentarius**. See supra, §§ 3 and 4.

71. murrinum calicem. *murra* was probably a red and white agate, very highly valued by the Romans, and sometimes imitated by them in glass. See the very exhaustive citations given by Mayor, on Iuv. 7. 133. There are some very fine specimens of *vasa murrina* in the Townley collection at the British Museum.——[After *conflaverit omnia* the following sentence has been omitted: Circa libidines haesit; postea quoque, ut ferunt, ad vitiandas virgines promptior quae sibi undique etiam ab uxore conquirerentur.]——**Aleae rumorem**. Gambling at Rome was forbidden by law,—*vetita legibus alea*, Hor. C. 3. 24. 58,—and involved *infamia* ; but the law does not appear to have been enforced with any strictness.——**praeterquam Decembri mense**: when much license was allowed because of the festivals. Hase compares Mart. 4. 14. 7:

> Dum blanda vagus alea December
> Incertis sonat hinc et hinc fritillis.

——**geronticos**. Better written in Greek characters, γεροντικῶς.——**talis**. The *tali* were rounded on two sides, and marked only on the other four. On one side was a single point, *unio*, the ace; on the opposite side, six points, *senio*, the sice; on the two remaining sides respectively three and four points, the *ternio* and *quaternio*. Four *tali* were used, and the lowest throw (*canis*, *canicula*, *iactus damnosus*) was when they

were all the same. The highest throw of the *tali* (*Venus*, *iactus Venereus, basilicus*) was when they all came out unlike. The *tes serae* had all six sides marked, using the numerals I, II, III, IV, V, VI. In playing with the *tesserae*, three were used. The highest throw was three sixes; the lowest, three aces. See L. and S. s. v. alea.——**in medium conferebat**: "put into the pot." See Iul. § 1, note.——**Quinquatrus.** There were two festivals in honor of Minerva, known by this name,—the Quinquatrus Maiores, March 19–23, and the Quinquatrus Minores, June 13. ——**forumque aleatorium calfecimus**: "we made the dice-board hot." *forum* is here from the nom. *forus*.——**si quas manus remisi**: "for if I had insisted on having from each one the stakes that I threw up."——**gloriam efferet.** A sentence very characteristic of the calculating nature of Augustus. He makes love to learn his enemies' secrets (§ 69); he is generous because generosity is popular.——**Misi tibi.** For the dative w. *mitto* see A. and G. 225 *b*. 2; Hk. 384. II. 3. 1), note 2.

72. **Scalas Anularias.** In the eighth district. Probably named from the jewellers' shops. When the word *Scalae* is used without the qualifying adjective, it refers always to the Scalae Gemoniae, the famous steps leading down from the Aventine to the Tiber, to which criminals were dragged by a hook. Cf. Tib. §§ 53, 61; Vitell. § 17.——**aedibus modicis Hortensianis**. See the interesting chapter on the gradual evolution of the Palace of the Caesars, in Lanciani.——**laxitate**: "its roominess." Cf. *modicis contentus aedibus nec multo laxiore suburbano*, Tib. § 11. See also Grammat. § 17.——**locus in edito singularis**: "a private place in the upper part of the house."——**Syracusas.** Possibly referring to the *diaeta* of Archimedes. Hase cites Nep. Dion. 9: *cum se Dion domi teneret atque in conclavi edito recubuisset*, etc.——**technophyon.** So the MSS., or in Greek letters, *τεχνόφυον*, than which *τεχνύφιον* is better and = *τεχνύδριον*, a diminutive of *τέχνη*, but here more likely in the sense of "little workshop," "studio."——**suburbanum**: sc. praedium.——**in domo Maecenatis.** On the Esquiline, and very splendid.——**Herculis templi.** Hase cites Mart. 1. 12, *Herculeas Tiburis arces*.——**praetoria**: "country-seats," and so in Tib. § 39; Calig. § 37.——**Gigantum ossa et arma Heroum.** Chiasmus.

73. altiusculis. As an adj., ἅπαξ λεγ.——**forensia** : "his public dress." Cf. Calig. § 17.

74. nec umquam nisi recta : "and never unless at a regular meal." *cena recta* is opposed to *sportula*, as in Mart. 8. 50. 10, cited by the commentators: *Promissa est nobis sportula: recta data est.* Cf. also *sportulas publicas sustulit*, *revocata rectarum cenarum consuetudo*, Domit. § 7.——**Mena.** Menodorus, of which Menas is the regular abbreviation, used ὑποκοριστικῶς, as generally by the writers who mention him. So Hermas for Hermodorus, and Demas for Demodorus. Menas was a most efficient officer in the service of Sex. Pompey until he betrayed him, for he had captured and held Sardinia (Dio Cass 48. 45).——**ternis ferculis.** So Pertinax, before he became Emperor, confined himself to three courses (Capitol. Pertin. 12). Juvenal (1. 94) speaks of seven courses as a large number: *quis fercula septem Secreto cenavit avus?* Elagabalus is recorded as having given a dinner of twenty-two courses, at which the company bathed after each course (Lamprid. Elag. 30). *ferculum* is that in which the food was placed, and fitted the top of the table. See Mayor ad Iuv. l. c.——**acroamata** : either "readers" or "singers."——**triviales ludios** : "strolling players," i.e., picked up at the *trivia*.——**aretalogos.** ἀρεταλόγους = *scurras*, *balatrones*. Cf. Juv. 15. 16: *bilem aut risum fortasse quibusdam Moverat ut mendax aretologus.* Originally a sort of mendicant who professed to be a philosopher—Stoic or Cynic—of the type ridiculed by Horace, Sat. 1. 3. 133–142, and Lucian, Epig. 34. Cf. ἠθολόγος, Cic. de Orat. 2. 59; and βιολόγος, Corp. Inscrip. Graec. 6750.

75. nonnumquam tantum iocullariter : "sometimes only in a jesting way."——**titulis obscuris et ambiguis.** Apparently the presents were in parcels, each with a *titulus* attached, bearing an inscription which had a simple meaning until the contents of the packet were seen, when another interpretation became possible. The jest was probably in the nature of a more or less improper *double-entendre*, as the names of all the articles mentioned in the text are capable of such a use. At first sight the *spongiae* seem innocent enough, but a comparison of the following passages will make the nature of the jest evident: Plaut. Rud. 4. 3. 69; Ter. Eun. 4. 7. 7; id. Menaech. 1. 1. 1; id. ib. 2. 2. 12; Plin.

H. N. 9. 45; Paul. ex Fest. p. 208 Müll. On *rutabula* cf. Naevius. Com. Frag. 126–7 (Ribbeck).——**aversas tabularum picturas** = *aversas tabulas pictas.*

76. Cibi. A. and G. 215; Hk. 396. V. The genitive of quality is properly always coupled with an adj.——**Secundarium panem.** Probably brown bread, which is never preferred by the Southern peoples. Cf. the German proverb: "Schwarze Mädchen, weisses Brod."——**pisciculos minutos.** A double diminutive found in Ter. Andr. 2. 2. 32, where *pisciculos minutos* equals the ἐπὶ τῶν λεπτῶν ἰχθυδίων, by which Athenaeus defines Menander's ἑψητοί. Cf. *pisciculi parvi*, Cic. de Nat. Deor. 2. 48.——**manu pressum**: "pot-cheese."——**biferas**: "that bear twice a year."——**acinis uvae duracinae.** A difficult expression. The best way to look at it is to make *uvae* the genitive of quality denoting the genus, and translate: "grapes of a hard sort." Casaubon says: '*uva*' *et* '*βότρυς*' *totius fructus nomina sunt . . . et* '*uva*' *et* '*βότρυς*' *et* '*racemus*' ἀναλόγως *dici solent de aliis quoque multis ut* '*acinus*' *pro* '*baccis*,' etc.——**Sabbatis ieiunium**: from the mistaken notion that the Sabbath was a day of fasting with the Jews ——**bucceas.** ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, and probably a vulgar word. Mart. (6. 75. 3) has *buccella.*

77. Vini. Cf. Iul. § 53.——**super cenam.** See Introd. 16. ——**se invitaret**: "indulged himself."——**senos sextantes**: "a pint."——**recens aridumve**, etc.: "a fresh or dried cider-apple." Others read *acidumve*, but *ve* should in that case be changed to *que* in order to make the expression reasonable. Juvenal (Sat. 11. 75) speaks of dried apples at a dinner.——**retectis pedibus**: i.e., his feet shod, but uncovered (*retectis*) by the *stragula* or bed-clothing.——**lecticulam lucubratoriam**: "a sofa." *lucubratorius* is a ἅπαξ λεγ.——**resumebat**: sc. somnum.——**matutina vigilia**: ablative.——**inter aliquas moras.** Suet. is fond of *inter* in this sense. Cf. *inter iocum*, Iul. § 4; *inter moras*, Nero, § 49; *inter cenam*, Aug. § 71; Tib. § 53; Galb. § 22; *inter initia*, Tib. §§ 26, 57; Claud. § 44; Domit. § 9; *inter poenam*, Tib. § 60.——**condormiebat.** A very rare verb.

79. lenocinii: "foppery." Cf. Cic. de Nat. Deor. 2. 58. *corporum lenocinia.*——**vultum sumitteret.** Sir Walter Scott represents James I. of England as pleased with a similar bit of

flattery. See the chapter in *The Fortunes of Nigel*, where James instructs Heriot, the goldsmith, how to present a petition to Majesty in proper form. "And first, see you, sir,—ye shall approach the presence of Majesty thus—shadowing your eyes with your hand to testify that you are in the presence of the Vicegerent of Heaven." (Ch. IV.)——**subflavum.** *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.*——**aquilum.** Perhaps derived from *aqua*, and so in Fest., meaning not exactly dark, but indefinite in color.

80. ad impetiginis formam: "with the appearance of a rash."——**crure sinistro.** Cf. § 20.——**habenarum atque harundinum**: "bandages and splints." Roth reads *harenarum*, which is also the reading of the MSS. If we retain it, we may suppose with Burmann that it refers to the application of hot sand, for which we may cite Gell. 19. 8. 3, *cum quispiam familiaris eius* (Frontonis) . . . *liberatum esse se aquae intercutis morbo diceret quod 'harenis calentibus' usus esset*, etc. In the same passage Fronto objects to the use of *harena* in the plural, and quotes Caesar's treatise *de Analogia* against it. *harena* and *habena* are easily confounded by the copyists, and Hase cites Manil. 5. 195 for a blunder which changes *harenae* to *habenae*. That *habena* is a medical term appears from Cels. 8. 10, and elsewhere.——**digitum salutarem.** The index finger, so called because used in greeting a friend. So *digitus infamis*, the middle finger (see § 45, note); *digitus medicinalis*, the fourth finger (Macrob. 7. 13. 7); and *digitus minimus*, the little finger.

81. distillationibus: "abscesses."——**praecordiorum inflatione**: "an inflammation of the bowels."——**gravedine**: "catarrh."

82. subucula: "an undershirt."——**thorace laneo**, etc.: "a woollen chest-protector, and drawers and stockings."——**petasatus.** The *petasus, petasunculus* (πέτασος, πετάσιον) was a hat of felt with a very slight crown and a broad circular brim, sometimes tied under the chin. Dio Cass. (59. 7) speaks of its being worn in the theatres as a protection against the sun.——**Praeneste vel Tibur.** The former is some twenty miles from Rome; the latter, about sixteen.——**egelida**: "tepid." The *e* is here privative as in *exanimare, excusare*, etc., like the Eng. prefix *un-*.——**albulisque.** The sulphur springs. These were near Tibur, and are mentioned by Martial (1. 13): *Canaque sul-*

fureis Albula fumat aquis. See the description of Nero's Golden House in Ner. § 31, where there were *balineae marinis et albulis fluentes aquis.*——**ligneo solio**: "a wooden tub." ——**duretam.** *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.*

83. **folliculumque.** Also called *follis* in Plaut. Rud. 3. 4. 16: *ego te follem pugilatorium faciam.* This, like our football, was inflated with wind; the *paganica* (Mart. 7. 32. 7) was a ball stuffed with feathers. See Becker's Gallus, Excursus II. Sc. 7. ——**subsultim.** *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.*——**segestria.** Others read *segestri.* The form *segestria* is found, however, in Varro, Ling. Lat. 5, § 166 Müll.——**ocellatae.** Possibly the "allies" of our school-boys.——**pumilos.** From *πυγμή, πυγμαῖος*, the other Latin term being *nani*, for a discussion of which see Gell. 19. 13. 2.

84. **Eloquentiam.** *Augusto prompta ac profluens quaeque deceret principem eloquentia fuit* (Tac. Ann. 13. 3). Cf. also Gell. 10. 24. 2.——**phonasco**: "an elocutionist." In Nero, § 25, "a singing-master."

85. **prosa oratione.** In Quint. Inst. 8. 6. 17, *prosa* occurs as a substantive in the sense of "prose."——**De Vita Sua.** Plutarch, Ant. 22: *ὡς δὲ αὐτὸς (Καῖσαρ) ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι γέγραφε.*——**summatim**: "superficially."——**non succedenti stilo.** In this sense *stilus* is very rare, occurring, however, again in Tib. § 70: *affectatione . . . obscurabat stilum.*—— **in spongeam.** Comically; the original Ajax having fallen on his sword. Macrob. Sat. 2. 4. 2, also repeats this jest.

86. **praepositiones urbibus.** So Graevius and Gronovius for the ordinary reading *verbis.*——**Cacozelos et antiquarios**: "imitators and antiquaries."——**myrobrechis.** *μυροβρεχεῖς*, and better written in Greek letters (Thimm, p. 35).——**per iocum irridet.** An amusing specimen of how Augustus was wont to burlesque his minister's literary affectations, is given by Macrob. Sat. 2. 4. 12: *in epistola ad Maecenatem familiari, plura in iocos effusa subtexuit: "Vale, mi ebenum Medulliae, ebur ex Etruria, lasar Arretinum, adamas Supernas, Tiberinum margaritum, Cilniorum smaragde, iaspi Iguvinorum, berulle Porsennae, carbunculum Hadriae, ἵνα συντέμω πάντα μάλαγμα moecharum!"*——**M. quidem Antonium ut insanum.** Cicero in his third Philippic (9) says of Antony: *Nonne satius est mutum esse*

quam quod nemo intellegat dicere? Plutarch (Ant. 2) says of him that he imitated the florid style of the Asiatic school.——**Cimberne Annius.** Inverted name. T. Annius Cimber, who became praetor by favor of Antony, is mentioned by Quint. Inst. 8. 3. 28 sq., as one who affected archaisms both in writing and speaking.——**Veranius Flaccus.** Possibly we should read Verrius Flaccus, the tutor of the children of Augustus, the author of the famous work on language, and mentioned by Gellius, (17. 6. 2) as having written a book on the obscurities of Cato's style (De Obscuris Catonis).——**ne moleste scribas**: "not to write in a labored style."

87. **hoc Catone.** That is, if we have not our ideal, let us be satisfied with what we have. Valer. Max. 2. 10. 8, cited by Hase, says that Cato's name had passed into a proverb for all that was perfect.——**baceolum.** Probably formed by Aug. out of the Gk. *βάκηλος* = Gallus, a eunuch of Cybele (Luc. Eun. 8), like *βλάξ* in the prov. *θεὸς κολάζει τοὺς βλάκας*, Xen. Oec. 8. 16. From √MAL, of *μαλακός*, Lat. *mollis*. The √MAL becomes √MLA, and then √BLA. Cf. *βλώσκω*, *ἔμολον*.——**pro pullo pulleiaceum.** Roth has in his text *apud pullum pulleiaceum* joined to *baceolum*, while in the readings given in his preface (p. xl), he says: ET PRO PULLO, *Edd.*, UT PULLUM PULLACEUM *ego*. I have restored the ordinary reading, which has at least the merit of being intelligible. The word *pulleiaceus* is found only here; *pullus*, of course, is the color.——**vacerrosum.** Also *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*. *vacerra* is a post, block. Hence *vacerrosus*, "blockhead," "a poor stick."——**betizare.** *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*. From *beta* in the sense of that word in Catull. 67. 21: *languidior tenera beta*, i.e., effeminate; and so *lachanizare*, mentioned in the text, is from *λάχανον*, used chiefly in the plural of vegetables. In Greek *λαχανίζομαι* has only the primary meaning "to gather vegetables."——**genetivo casu.** In Latin, *casus* is used to translate the tech. term *πτῶσις*, used by the Gk. grammarians. *genetivus* is a mistranslation of the Gk. *γενικός* (*ἡ γενικὴ πτῶσις*), more properly, however, representing the Gk. *γεννητικός*. See K. E. A. Schmidt, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Grammatik, Halle, 1859.——**subicit circumducitque**: "he places them below and draws a mark around them."

88. Orthographia id est, etc. He defines the word, thus showing that it was a comparatively new one to his readers. It is used again, Gramm. § 19.——**per notas scribit.** See Iul. § 55, note, and id. § 56.

89. Apolloniam. Cf. § 8.——**Arei philosophi.** Mentioned by Dio Cass. 51. 16, and Plut. Ant. 80, as the teacher of Aug.——**De Prole Augenda.** *Q. Metellus censor censuit ut cogerentur omnes ducere uxores liberorum creandorum causa* (Livy, Epit. 59). A very characteristic sentence from this oration is quoted by Gell. 1. 6. 2: '*Si sine uxore vivere possemus, Quirites, omni ea molestia careremus; sed quoniam ita natura tradidit ut nec cum illis satis commode, nec sine illis ullo modo vivi possit, saluti perpetuae potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum est.*'——**commissionibus**: "in the literary contests."

90. talem accepimus: sc. eum fuisse.——**tonitrua et fulgura expavescebat.** So Tiberius *tonitrua tamen praeter modum expavescebat* (Tib. § 69), and protected himself against lightning by wearing a laurel crown, because lightning was supposed never to strike the laurel. Caligula hid under a bed during thunderstorms. (Calig. § 51.)——**pellem vituli marini.** Pliny (H. N. 2. 55), speaking of lightning, says: *Ex his quae terra gignuntur lauri fruticem non icit nec umquam V altius pedibus descendit in terram. Ideo pavidi altiores specus tutissimos putant aut tabernacula pellibus beluarum quas vitulos appellant quoniam hoc solum animal ex marinis non percutiat.*——**ut praediximus**: supra, § 29.

91. amici somnio monitus. Cf. Vell. 2. 70, and Val. Max. 1. 7. 1, where the name of the friend is given as Artorius, the physician of Augustus, so that some edd. in our passage read *medici* for *amici*.——**per omne ver.** So in § 81: *initio veris praecordiorum inflatione tentabatur.*——**tintinnabulis.** This passage furnishes the only direct evidence that we have of the use of bells at the doors of houses. Becker considers even the words here as insufficient proof, but the meaning certainly seems plain enough (see Becker, Gallus, Excursus I. Scene 2). Casaubon ad h. l. cites passages from Dio Cass. and Lucian, that seem to support this obvious meaning.——**die certo emendicabat.** To avert the jealousy of the gods by an assumption of humility. So Caesar and Claudius in the height of their power went up the steps of

the Capitol on their knees (Dio Cass. 43. 21–2, and 60. 23). The slave in the chariot at a triumph was another device to avert Nemesis. From the same motive, the abusive songs of the soldiers on the same occasion were tolerated, as tending to lessen the disposition of the conqueror to *ὕβρις*. The curious notion that divine jealousy is excited by human prosperity is still strong among the Italian peasantry of the present day. Mothers call their children by opprobrious and even indecent names lest the Deity should think them too fond; and to praise a child is to excite the apprehension of the parents. See Brouwer, *Hist. de la Civilisation*, 7. 102 sq.; and id. 8. 30 sq.

92. calceus perperam. So Pliny (H. N. 2. 7. 24): *Divus Augustus prodidit laevum sibi calceum praepostere inductum quo die seditione militari prope adflictus est.*——**compluvium.** The opening in the middle of the house, by which light was admitted from above.——**Apud insulam Capreas.** In earlier prose writers, *apud* in the sense of *in* w. abl., is usually employed only in certain formulaic phrases, such as *apud forum*, *apud villam*, etc. Tacitus and Suet. extend the use to names of islands and towns. Cf. *apud Hierosolyma*, infra, § 93; *apud Actium*, § 96; *apud Memphim*, Tit. § 5; *apud Judaeam*, Vesp. § 5.——**Neapolitanorum.** So Dio Cass 52. 43: *τὴν Καπρίαν παρὰ τῶν Νεαπολιτῶν ὧνπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν, ἀντιδόσει χώρας ἠλλάξατο.*——**δυσφημίαν nominis**: i.e., the word *Nonis* suggested *non is*, and hence seemed to forbid him to go. For the importance attached by the Romans to names as a means of forecasting the future, see Mervoyer, *Études sur l'Association d'Idées*, p. 376 sq. Livy (Bk. 28. 28) represents Scipio as reproaching his soldiers with having followed a *dux abominandi nominis*, one Atrius Umber, which name, as De Quincey cleverly remarks, was truly "a pleonasm of darkness." Cf. Auson. Epigr. 20:

> Nam divinare est nomen componere quod sit
> Fortunae, morum, vel necis iudicium;

and De Quincey's *Modern Superstitions* in vol. III of his works in Black's edition, p. 303 sq.

93. contemptui habuit. So in Claud. § 15: *ut contemptui esset.* Cf. *curae habuit*, supra, § 48.

94. non ab re fuerit. The subjunctive used, as often in Suet.

to affirm something politely (potential). A. and G. 311. *b*; Hk. 486. I. Cf. § 7: *Thurinum cognominatum . . . tradiderim.*——**Iulius Marathus**. Cf. § 79.——**Asclepiadis Mendetis.** Asclepias of Mendes in Egypt. So *Mendesicus*, and *Mendesius.*——**Theologumenon.** *Θεολογουμένων.*——**P. Nigidium.** P. Nigidius Figulus ranked second to Varro as a profound scholar. He was the author of treatises on grammar, augury, natural science, astronomy, and theology. Teuffel, § 186. 1–8.——**nutricula.** The diminutive, like *mulierculas* in Tib. § 6, seems to have no especial force here.——**coaxare.** A verb formed from the famous *κοάξ*.——**delibatum digitis**: "received upon his fingers."——**secundum quietem**: "during sleep." For this use of *secundum*, cf. Cic. Div. 1. 24. 48, where the same expression occurs.——**arborem palmae.** The appositive or epexegetical genitive as *domini appellationem*, in § 53; *praenomen imperatoris*, Tib. § 26; Gramm. § 4, *appellatio grammaticorum*. See Zumpt, 425. 3; A. and G. 214. 2. *f*; Hk. 396. VI.——**castris locum capiens.** Tech. term as in Cic. de Nat. Deor. 2. 4. 11: *vitio sibi tabernaculum captum fuisse.*——**mathematici**: "the astrologer." So we must understand the word in Tib. §§ 36, 69.——**thema**: "his horoscope." Juvenal calls it *genesis* in 14. 248 (Hase).

95. puro sereno. An awkward use of *sereno*, coupled with another adjective.——**replicata intrinsecus ab ima fibra**: "doubled inward at the lowest part." Cf. Cels. 4. 11; *iecur in quattuor fibras dividitur;* and Cic. Div. 1. 10. 16: *quid fissum in extis, quid fibra valeat, accipio;* and Pliny, H. N. 8. 28: *si quidem et pericula praemonent non fibris modo extisque sed [et] alia quadam significatione.*

96. non litante. *litare* is a technical term of augury and = *καλλιερεῖν*. Cf. Otho, § 8, and *perlitare* in Livy, 41. 14.——**rei divinae**: see supra, § 1, note.——**Eutychus . . . Nicon**: portending, of course, *εὐτυχία* and *νίκη*.

97. collegam suum. Cf. § 27 fin.——**aesar.** Cf. Vaniçek Griech.-Latein. Wörterbuch, I. p. 89.——**quod . . . inter omina relatum est.** Literature furnishes us with innumerable instances of what the Hebrews picturesquely called *Bath Qôl*—"the daughter of the voice,"—the "mysterious power of words to work their own fulfilment as one of the laws of destiny" (Farrar). The answer of the Pythian to Alexander the Great, *ὦ παῖ ἀνίκα-*

τος εἶ, is well known; and Suetonius records a careless speech of Augustus to Galba, when the latter was a young boy, that was held to be an omen: *Constat Augustum puero adhuc salutanti se inter aequales, apprehensa buccula dixisse: Καὶ σὺ τέκνον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν παρατρώξῃ* (Galba, § 4). See also § 99. fin.——**Astura.** In Latium.

98. **non alio datam**: "for no other purpose."——**rerumque missilia.** If this reading be permitted to stand, we may compare *tabularum picturas* in § 75. Some of the MSS. have *rerum missilium*, but in Nero, § 11, the same expression as that in our text occurs again: *sparsa et populo missilia omnium rerum. missilia* is to be understood as a noun, denoting "thrown presents," something as in the modern Carnival.——**Thrasyllum.** Cf. Tib. § 14: *Thrasyllum quoque mathematicum quem ut sapientiae professorem contubernio admoverat.*——**quinquennale certamen.** Cf. § 59.——**Nolae succubuit.** So Velleius, Tacitus, and Aurel. Victor. Eutropius, however (7. 5), says: *obiit in oppido Campaniae Atella*, and so Eusebius, cited by Hase.

99. **clausulam**: the source of the quotation is unknown. Cf. Horace, A. P. 155: *donec cantor 'Vos plaudite!' dicat;* Cic. de Senect. 19. 70; and Quint. Inst. 6. 1. 52.——**εὐθανασίαν.** Cicero uses the word ad Att. 16. 7. 3.

100. **XIIII Kal. Septemb.** Aug. 19, A.D. 14.——**Bovillas usque** = usque ad Bovillas.——**Senatus.** *Nihil primo Senatus die agi passus nisi de supremis Augusti*, Tac. Ann. 1. 8.——**sacerdotes summorum collegiorum.** The four great *collegia* were the Pontifical, the Augural, the Quindecimviral, and that of the Septemviri Epulones.——**vir praetorius.** Dio Cass. (56. 46) gives his name as Numerius Atticus, and says that he was bribed by Livia to make this statement, similar to that which had been made of Romulus after death. Dio hints that Livia poisoned her husband, fearing lest he should restore Agrippa to favor, and thus endanger the prospects of Tiberius (id. ib. 30).

101. **virgines Vestales.** So Caesar's will had been intrusted to the Virgo Vestalis Maxima, Iul. § 83.——**liberosque eius tres**: i.e., Nero, Drusus, C. Caesar.——**annuum diem**: "the period of a year."——**indicem rerum a se gestarum.** It was engraved upon a tablet of bronze, and placed before his mausoleum erected in the Campus Martius. The contents of the tablet are

known to us from the Monumentum Ancyranum, an inscription found on the inside of the antae of a temple at Ancyra in Galatia, and an exact copy of the original tablet. It begins with the heading: RERVM GESTARVM DIVI AVGVSTI QVIBVS ORBEM TERRARVM IMPERIO POPVLI ROMANI SVBIECIT ET INPENSARVM QVAS IN REMPVBLICAM POPVLVMQVE ROMANVM FECIT INCISARVM IN DVABVS AHENEIS PILIS QVAE SVNT ROMAE POSITAE EXEMPLAR SVBIECTVM.

The first complete copy of this very important inscription was made by the French archæologist Perrot, who was sent into Asia Minor by Napoleon III. Perrot's work, entitled *Exploration Archéologique de la Galatie, de la Bithynie*, etc., is one of much interest. The German scholar, Humann, in 1882, took plaster-casts of the Latin inscription, and of the Greek version which was cut on the outer wall of the Augusteum. From Humann's casts, Theodor Mommsen made an edition of the inscription with a fac-simile of it in eleven plates, and a commentary (Berlin, 1883).

The mausoleum of Augustus was a pyramidal tower, 328 feet in height and of the same breadth at the base. It was covered with white marble and divided into three stories by receding steps, each story being planted with cypress trees. At the top was a small temple, surmounted by a statue of Augustus, and containing an urn for the reception of the imperial ashes. In the Middle Ages the mausoleum was used as a fortress, as was also the Palace of the Caesars. The remains of the mausoleum are still to be seen on the Via de' Pontefici.

END OF THE COMMENTARY.

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GREEK AND LATIN.

THE GREEK IN ENGLISH. First Lessons in Greek, with special reference to the etymology of English words of Greek origin. By T. D. GOODELL, Ph.D. 16mo.

This book attempts to teach that limited portion of Greek which college men remember after they have forgotten vastly more. That is the portion which even those who wish to banish the study of Greek from our schools would admit can least easily be spared, and that portion is essential to a ready command of the English tongue.

The first idea of the book arose from hearing a woman of unusual intelligence and considerable reading, talking about altruists, when she meant agnostics. Similar confusions—confusing, ultimately, to the speaker, and constantly to the listener—are of not infrequent occurrence in conversation on topics interesting only to the "educated." Moreover, much as the Greek element of English appears in conversation, it appears much more in literature, and carries many of the key-words to the thought. He to whom these key-words are not alive with meaning is at great disadvantage. Many a man who thinks he has retained nothing whatever from his Greek, except a lively sense of the exact meaning of such words as *metaphysics*, *agnostic*, *synthetic*, *anarchy*, *Russophobe*, nevertheless regards that sense as an intellectual acquisition worth all it cost. But after all, how great the cost of this one acquisition has been! Surely this one result of the study of Greek can be reached without devoting to it years of time. And yet mere dictionaries or etymological handbooks alone cannot give what is wanted. It is not enough to read or be told, even repeatedly, that *synthetic* is derived from such and such Greek words, and therefore has such and such a meaning. *The words in their Greek form, and with some fragment of their Greek associations*, must become somewhat familiar before one can be sensible of that grasp of their English derivatives which will enable one to use those derivatives correctly and fearlessly.

The Greek vocabulary surviving in English *can* be so presented in a sort of Greek primer, with its relations to English so pointed out, that even young pupils will find the study far from dull; and thus, of just that part of Greek which they will always use in reading current literature, they will be apt to remember more than the much-abused "average college graduate."

This book tries to accomplish these results without waste of time and brain-tissue in "mental discipline" of doubtful value. But the writer has no faith in royal roads to learning, does not profess to have compounded an educational nostrum which will, in a few weeks' time, electrify a boy or girl into the mastery of a difficult tongue, and does believe heartily in giving an important place in our educational system, for some generations yet, to the patient and thorough study of the Greek language and literature. This book is not intended to lessen the number of those who shall enter upon such a course of study, but it is hoped that it may increase that number. Yet it is not a sufficient introduction to the reading of a classic author, and hence is not a rival of the various excellent "First Lessons" in use. In putting these ideas into practice the material has been grouped about a grammatical outline, because the thorough memorizing of a few inflections will save time and labor in the end, by enabling the pupil from the outset to make a certain limited use of the language on rational principles. In no other way can the requisite familiarity with the Greek words be as easily gained. Besides,

while the book is intended primarily for those who without it would never study Greek at all, those have also been kept in mind who will afterwards continue the study. Yet with the possible exception of the dual number, the memorizing of which is but a trifle, no feature whatever has been introduced which could involve labor outside of the main purpose, as set forth above.

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